

O-Level History Notes

Pakistan Studies Paper 1

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Visiting Teacher

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Title	O-Level History Notes
Author	Dr Iftikhar-Ul-Haq (0333-4257013)
Published by	MS Books (042-35774780)
Price	Rs.650/=
Media & Marketing Partner	BearPlex (www.bearplex.com) 0301-4791010
Legal Advisor	Ali Rafique Shad (Advocate High Court) JURIS CONSULTUS 85-Mall Road Lahore, 25-Mason Road Lahore. 042-36303696, 0321-4911124
For Complaints/Order	MS Books 40-G Al Hafeez Shopping Mall Main Boulevard Gulberg Lahore <u>contact@msbooks.net</u> www.msbooks.net (042-35774780), (03334504507), (03334548651)

Preface

My “ O Level Notes on Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies “ are the result of my rich teaching experience, my constant interaction with the CIE and the results of my brilliant students many of whom managed to be enlisted among the HIGH ACHIEVERS/DISTINCTION HOLDERS in both the subjects. These notes will be updated every year in view of the changes in the style and content of the questions in the CIE examinations. Soon some sort of “Practice Books” will also be published to make these subjects as interesting as possible.

Almost all the topics have been covered in Question-Answer format so that students may not only learn these answers but also feel their thinking skills stimulated that will induce curiosity and minimize the element of rote learning.

When students are capable of “making “new questions, I feel my mission accomplished.

Students as well as teachers should feel free in contacting me as and when required.

Wishing all my students best and praying for their excellent grades.

Good Luck

Dr. Iftikhar-ul - Haq

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Section 1

(1600-1900 and Languages)

Decline of the Mughal Rule

Summary of the Decline of the Mughals

- Weak, corrupt and luxury loving later Mughals, after Aurangzeb's death, 1707
- Vastness of the empire
- Wars of succession
- Internal revolts & foreign invasions
- Aurangzeb's policies: religious intolerance, e.g., demolition of Hindu temples, re-imposition of Jiziya, ban on art, painting, music; his Deccan campaigns; 25 years against the Marathas & on his return exhaustion of straight treasury.
- Foreign invasions: Nadir Shah from Persia, Ahmad Shah Abdali from Afghanistan
- Finally, arrival of the Europeans: the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British
- The British ousted all other Europeans, and accelerated the process of decline
- Failure of the Mughals to advance in science and technology, and develop a strong military and naval force.

Reasons for Europeans being attracted to India

- Splendour & wealth of Indian rulers, especially, the Mughals; wealth needed for various industries in Europe in the wake of the Industrial Revolutions; metalwork of India & gold & diamond were in great demand in Europe.
- Discovery of sea routes to India helped trade flourish b/w Europe & India; trade of spices, cotton, cloth, opium, gold etc; highly profitable trade, for both Indians & Europeans, in the beginning.
- Mughal rulers & Indian traders welcomed the Europeans, 16th century onwards.
- British first tried spice trade in the East Indies (Indonesia), but the Dutch were already established there; the British EIC turned towards India, decided to oust the Dutch, Portuguese & French in order to enjoy monopoly.

Reasons for the British replacing the Mughals / Conquering Indians:

A mix of weaknesses of Indian & strengths of the British:

1) Indian Weaknesses:

- Highly divided Indians
- Diverse ethnic groups; tribes, states; religious, linguistic & regional divisions.
- No common identity or uniting force; often fought with each other, many seeking British help against rivals
- Rich, luxury – loving rulers, least interested in protecting their “homeland.”

2) British strengths:

- Militarily & technologically superior to Indians, due to the Industrial Revolution, 16th century onwards; superior weapons & fighting skills; disciplined army & better means of communication.
- Brought benefits to Indian, e.g., network of roads & railways, irrigation of 20 million acres of land; built educational & health institutes, King Edward Medical College, Lahore; universities in Lahore, Calcutta, Bombay.
- Rich sense of superiority of, not only weapons, but also, culture; strong belief of progress & victory, together with a strong sense of patriotism
- Successful use of their strategy of “divide & rule” ,& by threatening, outsmarting, bribing Indian rulers & princes.

Q: Who were the Mughals?

or

Describe the Mughal Rule.

(4)

Ans.

The Mughal rule was founded by Babur in 1526. Six great rulers, from Babur to Aurangzeb, expanded and consolidated their rule 1526 to 1707. During this period they excelled in literature, music, painting and architecture, building several monuments like the Taj in Agra. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, there were corrupt and inefficient rulers who failed to run the affairs of a huge empire. The Mughal rule was replaced by the British in 1858.

Q: Describe what the Marathas did.

[4]

Ans.

Marathas were a ferocious and militant Hindu community living in the Deccan, south India. They were especially organised under their dynamic leader Shivaji who laid the foundation of a Maratha Empire in the 1670s. Aurangzeb fought against them for about 25 years but failed to crush them. They defeated a huge Mughal army outside Delhi in 1737, and later occupied it in 1760. They were defeated by the Afghan army of Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1761, in the third battle of Panipat.

Q: What were Aurangzeb's religious policies?

[4]

Ans.

Aurangzeb, earned hostility and opposition by his non-Muslim subjects. He re-introduced the Jiziya, a tax levied on non-Muslims that had earlier been abolished by Akbar. He also destroyed some Hindu temples and tried to ban the old Hindu custom of Suttee, burning a widow alive on the cremation ceremony of her husband. He also showed strictness in enforcing Islamic law and tried to fix the length of the beard Muslim men were required to keep.

Q: Who was Shivaji?

[4]

Ans.

Shivaji was a ferocious Marathan fighter and founder of the Marathan Empire in Bijapur, southern India. He was crowned Chhatarpati (monarch) in 1674. He innovated military tactics, including guerrilla warfare, and revived old Hindu traditions. He fought the Mughals from 1657 to 1668. He was arrested by Aurangzeb's army in 1665, and brought to Agra. Soon, however, he escaped cleverly, and established himself in the Deccan. He greatly contributed to strengthen the Maratha power in southern India, and died in 1680.

Q: Who was Ahmad Shah Durrani?

[4]

Ans.

He was also known as Ahmad Shah Abdali, and was a skilled Afghan commander who was born in Herat, Afghanistan in 1722. He led ten invasions into northern India from 1747 to 1769 including three attacks on the Punjab between 1747 and 1753. These invasions greatly weakened the Mughal Empire. He defeated the Marathas in the third and last battle of Panipat in 1761, and broke their strength decisively. He died in 1772 in Kandhar in Afghanistan.

Q: Explain why the Mughal Empire declined following the death of Aurangzeb. [7]

Ans.

Aurangzeb's successors were inefficient. They proved to be lazy, corrupt and luxury-loving and left the state affairs to their courtiers and ministers who were usually selfish. These weak successors became victim to an extravagant lifestyle as a result of which they failed to run and defend the huge empire effectively. State resources were spent on personal comfort and so, the empire suffered from financial inefficiencies. One of the later Mughals was Muhammad Shah who, because of his colourful lifestyle, was titled as 'Rangeela'. He could not defend his empire against the Persian invader Nadir Shah Durrani.

There was no law of succession due to which the princes often fought for the throne on the death of the emperor. These wars of succession led to a division of the army with various lobbies supporting various princes. Succession was usually decided by the ability of the individual princes and the support and strength they could get from the courtiers and the army. This infighting incurred huge loss to the state exchequer that should have been spent on the public welfare schemes and consolidating the empire. Aurangzeb had divided the empire among his three sons, but they too, ended up fighting with each other.

Invasions by the Persians, Afghans and Europeans further accelerated the process of decline. Nadir Shah Durrani sacked many cities in 1739, and Ahmed Shah Abdali repeatedly attacked India 1748 onwards. Gradually, fighting wars became expensive and the military was stretched and suffered from inefficiency and skills. It became hard to defend a vast empire with an orthodox and outdated weapons and fighting tactics. The British, who had been developing their army, fully exploited these weaknesses of a very rich Mughal Empire that they overran with their advanced weapons, warfare and clever strategies.

Q: 'The spread of Marathan power was the main reason for the decline of the Mughal Empire.' Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Ans.

Marathas were the militant Hindu community concentrated mainly in the southern Indian state of Maharashtra. The Maratha Empire was founded by the ferocious Marathan commander Shivaji in the 1670s. They gradually organized themselves and began to offer stiff resistance to the Mughals. They defeated the Mughal army in 1737 outside Delhi and had captured the strategic town of Malwa in 1738. During the first six decades of the 18th century, they were the most powerful and established community in India that was ready to fill in the power vacuum created by the declining Mughal rule. Successive Mughal rulers found it almost impossible to check the rapidly growing Marathan power. Aurangzeb spent about 25 years in the Deccan desperately trying to eliminate the Marathas. On his return, he found the state treasury almost empty and this added to his difficulties.

However, the mighty Mughal rule did not decline due to the Maratha factor alone. Historians also blame the prejudiced and intolerant policies of Aurangzeb, who adopted strict measures against the non-Muslims. He imposed the discriminatory Islamic tax Jiziya on the non-Muslims that had earlier been abolished by Akbar, though he tried to defend himself by waiving some other taxes. He also demolished a number of Hindu temples, and adopted a harsh attitude towards the Sikhs. Being a staunch Sunni ruler, he banned many activities such as painting, music, drinking, gambling and dance that had been part of the Indian culture and society. He also tried to ban the Hindu custom of Suttee, burning widow alive on the cremation of her husband. In order to meet huge expenses of military campaigns, he imposed heavy taxes, and the money collected by taxes was spent on luxurious buildings, a tradition of the Mughal rulers. All this made Aurangzeb very unpopular, and his successors found it quite difficult to rule the empire.

Weak successors of Aurangzeb fell victim to extravagant and luxurious lifestyles and paid little attention to the defence and consolidation of the empire. They became morally corrupt and comfort-loving, and could not overcome the difficulties faced by various parts of the huge empire. This complacency is the usual result of continued successes of major empires, and the Mughals were no exception to this. Negligence of the weak later Mughals to the state affairs also contributed to the fall of the Mughal Empire.

The Mughals did not have a definite law of succession. On the death of an emperor, the princes got engaged in conspiracies, intrigues and making loyal groups that always led to regicidal wars of succession. Success of a candidate often depended on the support he could get from the military and ministers. Thus, state resources were wasted on mutual fights instead of public welfare and defence of the empire.

Aurangzeb had divided the whole empire between his three sons in order to prevent a war of succession. However, the three princes began to fight, and eventually, Prince Muazzam established himself as Emperor. Only after a few years, his four sons fought over the throne, but the victor, Jahandar Shah was murdered within a year. So, in the ten years after Aurangzeb's death, twelve different people claimed to be Emperor at one time. This greatly destabilized the huge Mughal Empire.

Finally, the last nail in the coffin of the Mughal rule was perhaps driven by the British, who began to dominate the political horizon of India, 1750 onwards. The tottering Mughal Empire was no match to the British supremacy in warfare. The British very skillfully established themselves in India and eventually replaced the Mughals by annexing all important states between 1757 and 1856. They started their victorious journey from north-eastern India, and moving southwards, they turned to the north-western territories of Sindh, Punjab and Kashmir. They also successfully applied their famous strategy of "divide and rule" to occupy the Indian subcontinent.

To conclude, we can say that the power of the Marathas was the decisive factor in the decline of the Mughals because, if the Mughals had won their support, they might have jointly averted the process of decline, or at least slowed it down. Instead, Mughals failed to make friends with them and constantly earned their hostility.

Q. Was British expansion in India the most important reason for the decline of the Mughal Empire? Explain your answer. (14)

Ans.

The British East India Company (EIC) reached India in 1600 AD when the Mughal Empire was nearing its peak. The British had primarily come for trade in India. Initially, their trade benefited Indians, too, but gradually the British began to enjoy monopoly on trade. With time, the money thus earned was used to manufacture more sophisticated weapons. Being the first beneficiary of the Industrial Revolution, they had more advanced weapons and were gifted with superior military skills. With this they had a strong sense of success. The Mughals, on the other hand, did not excel in science and technology. Moreover, the inherent disunity among Indians was also exploited by the British. In the 18th century, many provinces had broken away from the central Mughal authority.

Gradually, the British were able to keep their own armies and expand their influence over various Indian territories that were previously part of the Mughal Empire. Their major victories started decades after the death of Aurangzeb. They defeated the Indians in such major battles as Plassey in 1757, Buxar in 1764 and Mysore in 1799 greatly reduced the Mughal control over various strategic parts of India.

However, there were many other reasons for the decline of the mighty Mughal rule. Rise of Marathan power also contributed to the Mughal decline. The Maratha Empire was founded by the ferocious Marathan commander Shivaji in the 1670s. They defeated the Mughal army in 1737 outside Delhi. During the first six decades of the 18th century, they were the most powerful and established community in India that was ready to fill in the power vacuum created by the declining Mughal rule. Aurangzeb spent about 25 years in the Deccan desperately trying to eliminate the Marathas. On his return, he found the state treasury almost empty and this added to his difficulties.

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Weak successors of Aurangzeb fell victim to extravagant and luxurious lifestyles and paid little attention to the defence and consolidation of the empire. They became morally corrupt and comfort-loving, and could not overcome the difficulties faced by various parts of the huge empire. This complacency is the usual result of continued successes of major empires, and the Mughals were no exception to this. Negligence of the weak later Mughals to the state affairs also contributed to the fall of the Mughal Empire.

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could get from the military and ministers. Thus, state resources were wasted on mutual fights instead of public welfare and defence of the empire.

Aurangzeb had divided the whole empire between his three sons in order to prevent a war of succession. However, the three princes began to fight, and eventually, Prince Muazzam established himself as Emperor. Only after a few years, his four sons fought over the throne, but the victor, Jahandar Shah was murdered within a year. So, in the ten years after Aurangzeb's death, twelve different people claimed to be Emperor at one time. This greatly destabilized the huge Mughal Empire.

It may be concluded that the British expansion played the decisive role in the decline of the Mughal rule. British outsmarted the Mughals in military, trade, politics and social spheres of life. Their exploitative policies remained unnoticed by the Mughals till the British had established themselves in several parts of India.

Q. Were the invasions by the Persians and Afghans the main reason for the decline of the Mughal Empire? Explain your answer.(14)

Ans.

With the death of Aurangzeb, the huge Mughal Empire began to shrink in size under inefficient and corrupt rulers. This made the empire vulnerable to invasions. Modern day Afghanistan was shared between the Persians and Mughals for long time. Seeing the weak successors of Aurangzeb, the Persian ruler Nadir Shah Durrani invaded and sacked Delhi in 1738-39. The invasion was primarily a looting raid as Nadir Shah took away wealth, gold, jewellery and the famous Peacock Throne. Similarly, the Afghan fighter Ahmed Shah Abdali followed Nadir Shah, and attacked various parts of the empire between 1748 and 1767 that were under the Maratha rule. His attacks, too, were aimed at plundering the Indian wealth like Nadir Shah. He, however, inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Marathas though this could not prevent the decline of the Mughal rule.

However, there were many other reasons for the decline of the mighty Mughal rule. The British East India Company (EIC) reached India in 1600 AD when the Mughal Empire was nearing its peak. The British had primarily come for trade in India. Initially, their trade benefited Indians, too, but gradually the British began to enjoy monopoly on trade. With time, the money thus earned was used to manufacture more sophisticated weapons. Being the first beneficiary of the Industrial Revolution, they had more advanced weapons and were gifted with superior military skills. With this they had a strong sense of success. The Mughals, on the other hand, did not excel in science and technology. Moreover, the inherent disunity among Indians was also exploited by the British. In the 18th century, many provinces had broken away from the central Mughal authority. Gradually, the British were able to keep their own armies and expand their influence over various Indian territories that were previously part of the Mughal Empire.

Rise of Marathan power also contributed to the Mughal decline. The Maratha Empire was founded by the ferocious Marathan commander Shivaji in the 1670s. They defeated the Mughal army in 1737 outside Delhi. During the first six decades of the 18th century, they were the most powerful and established community in India that was ready to fill in the power vacuum created by the declining Mughal rule. Aurangzeb spent about 25 years in the Deccan desperately trying to eliminate the Marathas. On his return, he found the state treasury almost empty and this added to his difficulties.

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It may be concluded that the Persian and Afghan invasions were the main reason of the Mughal decline. The invaders repeatedly attacked mainly to loot the Mughal wealth and take it back to their countries. The Mughal treasury was gradually drained and thus little funds were available for the development and defence of the empire.

Q. Was the in-fighting between Aurangzeb's successors the most important reason for the breakup of the Mughal Empire? Explain your answer.(14)

Ans.

Mughal rulers did not have a definite law of succession. This led to in-fighting among princes on the death of an emperor. Aurangzeb, with the intention of avoiding such a fight, divided the empire among his three sons but this strategy failed. Fighting broke out between his sons and eventually Prince Muazzam established himself as Emperor. However, he ruled as a weak ruler for a few years, and then his four sons fought for the throne. The victor, Jahandar Shah was murdered within a year. These wars of succession became a permanent tradition, and caused division in the army. They also resulted in waste of resources that should have been spent on defending and developing the Empire.

There were many other factors that contributed to the process of decline. With the death of Aurangzeb, the huge Mughal Empire began to shrink in size under inefficient and corrupt rulers. This made empire vulnerable to invasions. Modern day Afghanistan was shared between the Persians and Mughals for long time. Seeing the weak successors of Aurangzeb, the Persian ruler Nadir Shah Durrani invaded and sacked Delhi in 1738-39. The invasion was primarily a looting raid as Nadir Shah took away wealth, gold, jewellery and the famous Peacock Throne. Similarly, the Afghan fighter Ahmed Shah Abdali followed Nadir Shah, and attacked various parts of the empire between 1748 and 1767 that were under the Maratha rule. His attacks, too, were aimed at plundering the Indian wealth like Nadir Shah.

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By objective analysis it seems the infighting among the successors of Aurangzeb was the main reason of the Mughal decline. Instead of acting as a united front, these weak successors divided the state army whose various factions fought against each other. Thus, the defence of the empire was neglected.

Q. Were the policies of Aurangzeb the main reason for the decline of the Mughal Empire? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans.

Aurangzeb gradually became an unpopular ruler. He is described as a prejudiced and intolerant ruler. He took many strict measures against the non-Muslims. He imposed the discriminatory Islamic tax Jiziya on the non-Muslims that had earlier been abolished by Akbar, though he tried to defend himself by waiving some other taxes. He also demolished a number of Hindu temples, and adopted a harsh attitude towards the Sikhs. Being a staunch Sunni ruler, he banned many activities such as painting, music, drinking, gambling and dance that had been part of the Indian culture and society. He also tried to ban the Hindu custom of Suttee, burning widow alive on the cremation of her husband. In order to meet huge expenses of military campaigns, he imposed heavy taxes, and the money collected by taxes was spent

on luxurious buildings, a tradition of the Mughal rulers. All this made Aurangzeb very unpopular, and his successors found it quite difficult to rule the empire.

There were many other reasons of this process of decline. Mughal rulers did not have a definite law of succession. This led to in-fighting among princes on the death of an emperor. Aurangzeb, with the intention of avoiding such a fight, divided the empire among his three sons but this strategy failed. Fighting broke out between his sons and eventually Prince Muazzam established himself as Emperor. However, he ruled as a weak ruler for a few years, and then his four sons fought for the throne. The victor, Jahandar Shah was murdered within a year. These wars of succession became a permanent tradition, and caused division in the army. They also resulted in waste of resources that should have been spent on defending and developing the Empire.

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To conclude it may be said that Aurangzeb's policies damaged the Mughal Empire to such an extent that his successors could not undo the damage. Since his successors were inefficient, and therefore, it was almost impossible for them to introduce popular and long term policies.

Source A: an excerpt from Encyclopaedia Britannica,

“The Mughal dynasty was notable for its more than two centuries of effective rule over much of India; for the ability of its rulers , who through seven generations maintained a record of unusual talent; and for its administrative organisation. A further distinction was the attempt of the Mughals was to integrate Hindus and Muslims into a united Indian state.”

Q. (a) According to Source A what do we learn about the Mughal rule in India? [3]

Ans.

The Source describes the Mughals as a successful dynasty that ruled effectively for more than two centuries. Its rulers capably maintained their talent through seven generations. The rulers attempted to unify Hindus and Muslims as equal members of a single state.

Source B: a portrait showing a scene of the Mughal court during its peak.



Q. (b) With reference to Source B, describe the Mughal rule in India. [5]

Ans.

The Mughal king is shown as the focal point of the painting that shows his strong grip over the state affairs. There are two courtiers standing at the entrance of the corridor leading to the royal throne. This shows the authority of the emperor who can be approached only by way of the two courtiers. Any guest would be escorted by the same courtiers to the emperor. There are several other courtiers on either side of the court, all formally dressed and standing alert. The entire court room is well decorated that reflects the lavish style of living of the Mughals. This way of living would become one of the reasons for the decline of the Mughal rule.

Source A: an excerpt from

“In 1615, Thomas Roe finally arrived in Ajmer, bringing presents of hunting dogs, some Mannerist paintings and many crates of red wine for which Jahangir had a fondness. Roe, nevertheless, had a series of difficult interviews by Jahangir. Roe wanted immediately to raise the subject of trade, but the emperor could barely cancel his boredom at such conversations.”

Q. (a) According to Source A describe what Thomas Roe observed in Jahangir’s court. [3]

Ans.

Thomas Roe knew about Jahangir’s love for red wine. He felt Jahangir could not be convinced to listen to a European visitor. Jahangir made him wait for a long time before Roe could tell the purpose of his visit.

Source B: a painting showing a British diplomat, Thomas Roe, appearing before the Mughal emperor Jahangir



Q. (b) From Source B, what do we learn about the interaction between the Mughal emperor and the British diplomat? [5]

Ans.

The emperor Jahangir seems to dominate the scene as he is seated on an elevated throne. This shows his powerful rule over India. Thomas Roe is well dressed that reflects his preparations for appearing in a royal court. He looks quite submissive as he is presenting a document in a humble way. A senior courtier is reading out the text of the document, perhaps acting as a translator. The document looks to be a formal request for starting trade with India. Jahangir's permission to the British to initiate trade with India would lay the foundation of the British rule over India in the years to come.

Q. Why were Marathas defeated after the Mughal decline? [7]

Ans.

Marathas emerged as strong rivals to the Mughal rule. They ruled a greater part of India than Mughals from 1674 to 1818. Their victorious journey began in 1737 when they defeated the Mughal army outside Delhi, and soon they were ruling several parts of northern India up to Bengal. By the middle of 18th century they were the most powerful people in India. However, in the absence of a sustainable administrative system, they too, like Mughals, found it difficult to govern such a huge area effectively. The central government gradually began to lose its control over many provinces.

Maratha families, driven by lust for short term power, started allying themselves with the local rulers instead of remaining loyal to the Peshwa seated in Pune. This weakened their power over state affairs, and they became victims of disunity and disloyalty. Bajirao-II, the son of Raghunathrao was an inefficient Peshwa. He failed in uniting the Maratha Sardars, and internal conflict among the Sardars weakened the power of the Marathas in various parts of their kingdom. Another Peshwa Madhavrao granted semi-autonomy to the strongest of Sardars, and created a confederacy of Maratha states. This policy also backfired, and with time the semi-autonomous Sardars became fully autonomous.

The Afghan invader Ahmed Shah Abdali defeated Marathas in the third and last battle of Panipat in 1761. Abdali's army had 41,800 cavalry and 38,000 infantry along with other troops. The Marathan army comprised 55,000 cavalry with only 15,000 infantry. Abdali, a military genius, used his numerically superior army with great tactics, and inflicted defeat on the Marathas. They lost several soldiers and leaders including the Peshwa. This marked an end of the Marathan ambitions. The British intervened in 1775 in Peshwa family succession struggle in Pune. This led to three Anglo-Maratha wars, 1775 to 1818. Finally, by 1818, the British had completely defeated them.

Q. What was the Industrial Revolution? [4]

Ans.

It was the process of industrialisation of Europe, and England was its first and greatest beneficiary. Factory industry began to produce goods in bulk in the 1780's in selected towns of England. The development of steam engine provided power to run machines, railways and steamships. This resulted in the growth of a rich business community in England, and changed the landscape of its towns and lifestyle of the people.

Q. How did the Industrial Revolution change England?

[7]

Ans.

Industrial Revolution was the process of industrialization of England that was later experienced by other European nations too. With the invention of steam-engines, the machinery of the first of the factories began to work in the 1780's. The steam-power began to run railway engines and ships. This created a sizeable segment of rich class in England, and an overall improvement in the standard of living of the ordinary citizens.

Raw cotton from India gave a boost to the textile industry that tremendously increased the export earnings of England. Soon it also started manufacturing modern and more powerful weapons that enabled it to colonise various countries in Asia and Africa. Gradually, Britain developed a huge and strong navy that helped it reach remote markets of the world and conquer other countries.

The Industrial Revolution also changed the geographical and socioeconomic landscape of England, and by 1850 when it was rightly called, "The workshop of the world." Several factory towns began to replace the villages while railways connected various parts of the country. With this the population doubled from about ten millions in 1800 to twenty millions in 1850.

Q: What was the East India Company?

[4]

Ans.

It was a trading company that was granted the charter of trading rights in 1600 by Queen Elizabeth I. Its first ship landed on the southern Indian town of Surat, in 1608. It was granted permission to trade in India by the Emperor Jahangir in 1612. It began to earn huge profits, and moved its headquarters to Bombay/Mumbai in 1664. Gradually, it began to acquire military power during 18th century. It was abolished in 1858 by the British government.

Q Explain why the EIC became involved in the Indian sub-continent during the 17th century?

[7]

Ans:

British were attracted to the Indian wealth and resources. With the discovery of sea route to India by the Portuguese traveler Vasco Da Gama, reports began to reach about Indian riches and resources to England. India became known as the "golden sparrow" because of its fabulous wealth and resources such as cotton, silk, jute, indigo, jewellery and even the addictive drug opium. British needed these to feed their factory industry as they would soon be the fastest industrializing nation not only in Europe but also in the world. Therefore, they began to conquer various Indian territories while introducing their own system of administration in these areas.

British also began to think about expanding their influence and trade to the Far East and South East Asia. For this they needed a strategic port in South Asia (Indian sub-continent) as the Indian peninsula was located at international crossroads, and surrounded by a warm water sea where multiple ports could operate throughout the year. Strategic ports, such as the Bombay (now Mumbai), 1875 and Calcutta (now Kolkata), 1893 were founded by the British in a planned way. These greatly helped the British expand their trade in multiple directions from India as well as develop their naval force.

Also, British wanted to oust other European colonial powers such as the Dutch, Portuguese and French from India in order to enjoy monopoly of trade in India. The Dutch had driven the Portuguese and the British out of South East Asia in the 17th century. Therefore, the British had to turn towards South Asia where the Indo-Pak subcontinent proved

to be a much better option for them. Establishing themselves cleverly, they began to replace other European nations in India. With the availability of more destructive weapons and using their clever non-military tactics, they were able to accomplish this mission rather successfully.

British govt. replacing the EIC

- Various steps taken by the British govt, aimed at restricting the EIC, 1770 onwards, after reports of misgovernance & corruption in Bengal.
- 1773, the Regulating Act: the EIC now accountable before the British Parliament, EIC to provide a detailed report of its activities to the Parliament.
- Governor of Bengal (Warren Hastings) was made the Governor-General, with the authority to 'superintend & control' the governor of Bombay & Madras.
- Supreme Court was set up in Calcutta.

1784, Pitt's India Act:

- Direct control of the Indian possessions by Brit govt.
- More powers for the Governor-General; he could now supersede the administration of Bombay & Madras; 3 presidencies under his control; a post of the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.
- EIC lost most of its powers, though it continued its trading activities: in fact, better governance of India by the combined efforts of the EIC and the British Government
- Later, police force & civil services, too.
- By 19th century, powers of EIC were further limited.
- 1858, it was completely abolished.

Reasons:

- Reports of misgovernance, financial embezzlement, corruption (especially in Bengal) about the EIC (officials).
- Brit govt. had to act in time to control this
- India was a huge country; political affairs of such a large state couldn't be permanently given to a trading company; India had to be a "jewel in the crown"----- matter of prestige.
- Threat of Russian attack through Afghanistan: Brit had to secure the north-western borders of India in order to check any Russian advance by way of Afghanistan; a regular Brit army was needed to be stationed along the NW border.

Q. Why were British able to expand their control over India between 1750 and 1850?

Or

Why were British able to expand their influence in India between 1750 and 1850?

Or

Explain why Britain was able expand into the subcontinent between 1750 and 1850. [7]

Ans:

British expanded their influence in India quite skillfully between 1750 and 1850. They gained strength primarily due to the major victories like the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764) in Bengal, and the Anglo-Mysore wars. They utilized every possible way to win the battles. They bribed Mir Jaffar of Nawab Siraj ud Daula, and Mir Sadiq of Tipu Sultan to gain victories in northern and southern India. Finally, they captured Sindh, the Punjab and Kashmir from 1843 to 1849. These victories gave them huge and rich areas to rule and to exploit local resources to strengthen their position. They built railways to facilitate movement of soldiers more quickly and easily to various parts of India. With this trade also began to flourish making them richer and stonger.

While getting control of the conquered states the EIC began to enforce British system of administration. This comprised the system of judiciary and governors and the Governor General. The early Governor-Generals tried to win the Indian confidence by various steps. Under the Charter Act 1833, the Indians were gradually included in the Civil Services. Thus, a team of obedient Indians was gradually prepared. This helped the EIC to run the state affairs along the British lines. The EIC also introduced trade laws that favoured its imports and exports as well as local trade. The revenue collected from India was cleverly spent by the British to buy and ship the local goods to England.

British also had superior military skills and more advanced weapons to which Indian Army was no match. British were the most important beneficiary of the Industrial Revolution as they began to develop highly advanced weapons. Their gun powder weapons were much more destructive than the orthodox arsenal of India. The Indians did not develop a modern navy against the British. Their disunity was closely observed and exploited by the British who kept them divided by such tactics as the subsidiary alliances introduced by Lord Wellesley in 1798. This enabled them to win the support of several smaller states of India. This way they utilized their famous 'divide and rule policy' to strengthen their control over India.

Q: Why did British government take control from the EIC? [7]

Ans:

British government wanted to make India its colony. It knew that political affairs of the Indian Sub-Continent could no longer be run by a trading company. In a way it was becoming a matter of prestige for the British government. Therefore, by passing a series of acts, the powers of the EIC were gradually restricted. Under the Regulating Act of 1773, the EIC was made accountable to the British Parliament. A Governor General, Warren Hastings, was appointed for the province of Bengal.

There were also reports of mismanagement and corruption by the EIC officials, in Bengal and other provinces. The Company officials forced the newly appointed Nawab of

Bengal to give heavy bribe to them in the form of gifts. They were involved in financial embezzlement of the revenue of the states they had annexed. This was damaging the reputation of the British government. In 1784, the British Government passed the India Act and took direct control of the Indian possessions. It appointed a Governor General who would have control of the three presidencies: Bengal, Bombay and Madras. New posts of Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, and provincial governor were created. So, in 1813, the EIC lost its monopoly, though it continued to trade in India. Other British companies also wanted to share in the profits of India.

British also wanted to deploy a regular army on the north-western border to counter the Russian threat. Russia had been desperately looking for access to the warm water sea. By way of Afghanistan, it could invade India to reach the ports of the Indian Ocean as Afghanistan had been used by several earlier invaders as a springboard to attack India. Therefore, in order to keep Russia from any such adventure the British government had to take control from the EIC.

Q: Was the India Act of 1784 the main reason why the British were able to expand beyond Bengal between 1784 and 1850? [10/14]

Ans.

The British government took many steps to restructure the EIC. In 1784, the India Act, also known as the Pitt's India Act, was passed by the Prime Minister William Pitt. The Act empowered the British government to take direct control of Indian possessions. Under this the Governor General was made a royal appointment, and the Company's Board of Directors was replaced by a Board of Control comprising six members including the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of Exchequer. Lord Cornwallis was thus appointed as the Governor General in 1786 to rule the three presidencies of Calcutta/Kolkata, Bombay/Mumbai and Madras/Chennai. He was assisted by three governors, and a Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. The status of the EIC thus changed from a trading concern to a sovereign body in which the Crown (British government) directly controlled Bengal. Moreover, a police system was introduced that would help in the administration of justice and maintaining law and order in India. This way the powers of the EIC were cleverly restricted while preparing the ground for the British government ruling India directly. The British took many other measures to strengthen its grip on India in later years. Lord Cornwallis enforced the Permanent Settlement Act in 1793. The Act made the Zamindars of Bengal landowners on the condition of paying a fixed amount of tax to the British. In 1793 the amount of this tax was 10% of the amount collected from the Zamindars. Hence, the Permanent Settlement secured the financial interests of the East India Company and helped Bengal to become the richest province of India enabling the British to expand their influence beyond Bengal.

Lord Wellesley became Governor General in 1798 and he introduced the system of subsidiary alliances. Under this the local rulers were persuaded to accept the British defence and pay its costs in the form of salaries for the British soldiers. In return, they were allowed to retain their rulership while enhancing the British rule surreptitiously as they had to accept a British resident advisor. They could not employ any European in their service without approval of the British, nor could they negotiate with any other Indian rulers without consulting the Governor General. The Nizam of Hyderabad became the first victim of this policy. In 1798,

the Nizam was detached from the French and was also barred from making any alliance with the Marathas. In 1799, Tipu Sultan was defeated and killed, and the state of Mysore was annexed by Lord Wellesley.

The Nawab of Oudh was forced to accept this policy in 1801, and the Maratha Peshwa Baji Rao-II also subjugated his state in 1802. Other Maratha states like Bhosle, Sindia and finally, the Maratha Confederation, Holkars also surrendered in 1803. The Marathas were decisively defeated in the third Anglo-Maratha War, 1817-1818. The British army occupied Delhi in 1803, and shifted the Royal Mughal Family from Red Fort to Qutub Saheb. This way, several states came under the British rule in a slow and clever way.

The British finally turned towards north-western India. In order to undo the damage to their prestige by their defeat in Afghanistan in 1841, the British provoked the Amirs of Sindh who attacked the British resident Charles Napier. The British retaliated with full force and annexed Sindh in 1843. The Punjab was annexed by exploiting the chaos in the Sikh Darbar/Court following the death of its strong ruler, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. The ambitious rival chiefs attacked the British possessions south of the River Sutlej, giving British an excuse to invade the Punjab. After the Treaty of Lahore of 1846, the British, helped by a Hindu chief Gulab Singh Dogra, annexed Kashmir that was given to Gulab Singh as a reward. Finally, the Punjab and the NWF were annexed fully on 30th March 1849.

The Pitt's India Act seems to be the decisive factor in the British expansion in India because it laid down a strong foundation on which was erected the building of all future victories of the British. The Act gave the British a sense of success as they began to exploit the Indian weaknesses including their inherent disunity.

Q: Who was Robert Clive?

[4]

Ans.

He was hired as a clerk by the East India Company but soon he joined the Company army and earned fame as a brilliant commander. In 1751, he gained his first victory by defeating the Nawab of Carnatic/Karnataka in the battle of Arcot. In June 1757, his army defeated the Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula in the Battle of Plassey and became the governor of Bengal. His next victories were in the battle of Pondicherry against the French in 1761, and Buxar against the Indians, in 1764. He faced trial in England, and though acquitted, he committed suicide in 1774.

Q: What was the 'Black Hole Tragedy'?

[4]

Ans.

Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula decided to punish the British after they had started fortifying themselves at important posts in Calcutta (Kolkata) in violation of their treaty with him. He marched on Calcutta and seized the Company's Fort William in June 1756. The 64 captured British residents were locked up in a small room where 23 of them were found dead the following morning. This was used by Robert Clive as an excuse to whip up anger against the Nawab. Clive's army defeated and killed the Nawab in the Battle of Plassey in 1757.

Q: Describe the Battle of Plassey.

[4]

Ans.

In 1757, the French encouraged Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula of Bengal to attack the EIC base at Calcutta. The Nawab captured the city but Robert Clive reached with his army of 3,000 soldiers and bribed Mir Jafar, one of Siraj's key commanders. Clive defeated the Nawab's army of 18,000 in the battle. The Nawab's dead body was found in a river after the battle. Mir Jafar was made the Nawab as a reward for turning against the Nawab and supporting Robert Clive. This victory became the foundation of the British rule in India as Clive became the governor of Bengal.

Q. Who was Mir Qasim? [4]

Ans.

He succeeded Mir Jaffar as the new governor of Bengal in 1760. He cooperated with the EIC in confiscating lands and wealth of the people of Bengal, thus strengthening the British. After some years he felt uncomfortable with the growing demands of the Company, and tried to stop the British influence in Bengal. In 1764, he raised a combined army with the help of the Mughal king Shah Alam and the ruler of Oudh, Shuja ud Daula. Robert Clive defeated this huge army with his traditional clever tactics.

Q: Who was Tipu Sultan? [4]

Ans.

Tipu was the Sultan of Mysore in southern India from 1782 to 1799 and was a formidable enemy of the British. The EIC maligned his conduct by declaring him "the monster of Mysore". He was helped by the French and defeated the British in the 2nd Anglo-Mysore War, and forced the British to accept the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784. The EIC defeated him in the 3rd Anglo-Mysore War in 1789. Lord Wellesley's army defeated and killed him in the 4th Anglo-Mysore War in 1799 in his fort of Seringapatam.

Q. Who was Lord Wellesley? [4]

Ans.

He succeeded Lord Cornwallis as the Governor General of India. He expanded the British influence in India by his famous subsidiary alliances. The local rulers were allowed to rule while the British troops protected them. The rulers could not make any other alliances. Rulers of Hyderabad, Oudh and the Maratha Peshawar were the first among those who accepted it.

Q. Describe how Lord Wellesley got rid of Tipu Sultan? [4]

Ans.

Lord Wellesley kept Tipu from receiving any help from the French or the Nizam of Hyderabad. He first captured Mysore, and then defeated and killed Tipu in his fourth Anglo-Mysore war in May 1799, and captured Serangapatam. The British were assisted by the armies of the Nizam and the Marathas. Thus several parts of southern India came under the British rule.

Q. What were the Anglo-Mysore wars?

[4]

Ans.

These were four wars fought between the rulers of Mysore and the allied forces of the EIC, the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. Hyder Ali, the Sultan of Mysore, and his son Tipu Sultan fought from 1769 to 1799. The last war in 1799 marked the end of the House of Hyder Ali and Tipu. These victories gave the British control of a huge territory of southern India.

Q. Describe the first Anglo-Mysore war.

[4]

Ans.

This was fought 1767 to 1769. Hyder Ali of Mysore fought and defeated the EIC army. The EIC encouraged the Nizam of Hyderabad to attack Mysore. Hyder Ali fought boldly against the British Bombay army from the west, and a Madras army from northeast. Hyder Ali fought valiantly and forced his enemies to sign the Treaty of Madras (now Chennai).

Q. Describe the second Anglo-Mysore war. [4]

Ans.

It was fought 1780 to 1784. Tipu and Hyder Ali fought boldly. Tipu defeated Bailie in the battle of Pollilur in 1780, and Baithwait at Kumbakonam, in 1782. However, Sir Eyre Coote defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo and Arni. Tipu continued to fight after the death of Hyder Ali, and the battle ended by the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784.

Q. Describe the third Anglo-Mysore war.

[4]

Ans.

Tipu, an ally of the French, invade the British ally, Travancore in 1789. British forces, led by the Governor General Cornwallis himself, fought against Tipu for three years. Tipu had to retreat and the siege of Seringapatam lasted till the end of the war in 1792. Under the Treaty of Seringapatam, Tipu had to give half his kingdom to the EIC. His young sons were also taken as hostage by Cornwallis.

Q. Describe the fourth Anglo-Mysore war.

[4]

Ans.

Tipu's alliance with the French was a threat for the British. So, Lord Wellesley launched an attack on Mysore from all the four sides. The Nizam and the Marathas also helped the British. Tipu had to fight a four times stronger army. Finally, at the end of the siege

of Seringapatam , he was defeated and killed in 1799. Most of Mysore was captured and divided among the British, the Nizam and the Marathas.

Q: Describe the annexation of Sindh.

[4]

Ans.

In 1841, all British troops were killed in a rebellion in Afghanistan causing a serious damage to the British prestige. They decided to undo this damage, and asked their general Charles Napier to provoke the Amirs of Sindh who had been on friendly terms with the British since 1809. The Amirs attacked the British Residency in 1843. The British, in turn, attacked and annexed Sindh by defeating the Amirs the same year.

Q: Describe the annexation of the Punjab and the NWF.

[4]

Ans.

After the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, there was a political crisis in the Punjab. The Sikhs, violating the Treaty of Perpetual Friendship of 1809, attacked the British and were defeated in the Battle of Aliwal in January 1846. They were penalized and forced to sign the Treaty of Lahore. In the Second Sikh War, 1848-1849, the Sikhs were defeated again and the Sikh Empire came to end. The British annexed the Punjab and the NWF on 30th March 1849.

Q: What was the Doctrine of Lapse?

[4]

Ans.

In 1852, Governor General Lord Dalhousie introduced the Doctrine of Lapse. Under this, if a state ruler died without a natural/male heir, the EIC would annex the state. Soon the states of Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi were annexed by the EIC. The Indian rulers resented the policy greatly, especially when it was misused to take the state of Oudh in 1856, on the death of its Nawab. Though he had many sons, Dalhousie annexed Oudh on the excuse of bad governance. It became a reason of the War of Independence, and was abolished in 1858.

Q. How did Robert Clive lay the foundation of for British rule in India? [7]

Ans.

Clive made to fortify various military posts in Calcutta. This was a violation of an agreement with the Nawab of Bengal, Suraj ud Daula. The angry Nawab imprisoned several British in a small dungeon in the summer heat of June 1756. In the following morning, 24 of the 63 prisoners were found dead due to suffocation. This Black Hole tragedy gave Clive an excuse to attack Bengal.

Clive defeated a huge army of the Nawab in the historic battle of Plassey by bribing Mir Jafar, the key commander of Siraj ud Daula. This victory gave the EIC control over the resources of Bengal. Valuable goods like salt, betel nut, tobacco and saltpetre were shipped to England in bulk. Thus began unchecked exploration of Indian resources. Clive and his team made plenty of money from this trade. Clive's victory in the battle of Buxar in 1764 made British the rulers of northeastern India.

Clive was made first governor of Bengal in recognition of his services for the EIC. He received heavy amounts of wealth from the newly appointed puppet Nawab Mir Qasim . This wealth was kept by himself and given to the EIC officials, too. Though accused by the members of the British parliament of accepting bribes, Clive had laid a strong foundation of the British rule in one of the richest provinces of India. The upcoming British officers continued to strengthen the British rule over India.

Q. Why was Robet Clive appointed the first Governor of Bengal? [7]

Ans.

Robert Clive was a gifted military commander in the EIC. First he defeated the French, and then strengthened the British control over India during the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1751, he defeated the Nawab of Carnatak, Chanda Sahib in the battle of Arcot, part of the second Carnatak war. The Nawab was assisted by a small number of French troops. This increased the influence of the British in southern India. The EIC slowly began to expand its control over northern India with the help of Clive.

Clive became more prominent by winning one of the most important battles, the battle of Plassey against Nawab Siraj ud Daula of Bengal, in 1757. This victory was a result of the clever war tactics of Clive as well as his ability to bribe the key officer of the Nawab, Mir Jafar. Thus, the British gained control of one of the richest provinces of India, and also began a highly profitable trade in Bengal.

Clive's repute further improved by his role in the decisive battle of Buxar, in 1764. The combined armies of the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II, the Nawab of Bengal Mir Qasim, and the Nawab of Oudh could not defend themselves against a smarter British army led by Robert Clive and Hector Monro. With this victory the entire province of Bengal and neighbouring territories came under the British rule. The EIC now took control of the revenue collection in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and also extended influence to Oudh. It decided to give some reward to Robert Clive for these important victories. Therefore he was made the Governor of Bengal. As the Governor, Clive continued to demonstrate is skills of ruling a huge area and strengthening the British control.

Q: Why was Warren Hastings appointed the first governor-general of Bengal? [7]

Or

How did Warren Hastings strengthen the British Rule in India?

[7]

Ans: Warren Hastings was a very studious employee of the East India Company and gained success and prominence in the Company. Though unsupported, and at times, opposed by his colleagues, he worked very hard to raise revenue of the Company. In order to achieve his objectives, he introduced the concept of putting the tax collectors up for auction. This tempted many to acquire the post by paying heavy money to the Company.

Once the ambitious candidates got the desired position of tax collector, they would use all tactics to extort taxes from the Indians. They would force even the poor farmers to pay the fixed taxes regardless of the land produce affected by drought or other calamities.

Hastings also extended the British control over central and southern India by fighting and defeating fierce resistant rulers like the Marathas ,and Haider Ali of Mysore. The Anglo-Maratha wars continued from 1778 to 1782 in which power of the Marathas was greatly weakened as Ahmed Shah Abdali had already inflicted a humiliating defeat on them in the last battle of Panipat in 1761. In order to achieve success in these military expeditions, Hastings forced many rich princes to give him heavy bribes. Many important Indian towns like Pune and Gwalior were captured in these wars. Though he couldn't gain success against Haider Ali in the second Anglo-Mysore war, he had laid a strong foundation of the future British victories in southern India. Despite these achievements, Hastings ended up facing trial in England for seven years.

Q. (a) According to source A what type of man Tipu Sultan was? (3)

“The British claim that Tipu was a Muslim fanatic and considered himself as the wisest man. In fact, Tipu made offerings in Christian churches and Hindu temples of his loyal subjects. He only destroyed the places of worship of his enemies.”

Ans. The source presents Tipu as a mix of opposites. He is shown as an intolerant Muslim ruler who did not show respect to his non-Muslim subjects. However, at the same time, the source portrays him as a skilled ruler who knew how to treat his loyal non-Muslim subjects while punishing those who created problems for him.

Q.4 (b) Source B: A photograph showing Tipu Sultan fighting the EIC army.



Q: Describe the scene of the battlefield. [5]

Ans.

The source shows that a fierce fight is going on between the two armies. Several soldiers of Tipu's army have been killed or wounded as they are seen lying on the ground. The British, on the other hand, look visibly dominant with hardly any major losses. This is due to their superior weapons and better fighting skills. Tipu's army is fighting with the outdated weapons like swords, spears and shields, and this would contribute to his defeat. Tipu's crown has fallen on the ground and that means the battle has entered its decisive phase. The British victory in this battle would strengthen their control over southern India.

Source A

“There are few figures in history as controversial as Robert Clive. Some people described him as a soldier of initiative, courage and determination. Other people saw him as reckless and unprincipled, a rebel expelled from several schools for bad behaviour. They said his victories at Arcot, Calcutta and Plassey were all the result of lucky gambles that put his men in unnecessary danger. It was also said that Clive used tactics that were sly and against the accepted codes of battle. Clive was also described as cruel, lacking in morality and greedy for personal wealth.”

Q. (a) According to Source A what were the personal characteristics of Robert Clive? [3]

Ans. (a)

Robert Clive has been described as a mix of contradictory characteristics. He is considered by some as a brave soldier possessing courage and determination. At the same time he is viewed as a man of good luck who won battles of Arcot, Calcutta and Plassey as a result of his successful gambling. He is also viewed as a greedy and cruel man who used undesirable means to achieve his objectives.

Source B: a painting of Lieutenant-General Lord Cornwallis receiving the Mysorean Hostages Princes after the Third War at Seringapatam in 1792, by Rober Home c. 1793.



Q. (b) What can we learn from Source B about the treatment of Indian hostages during the Mysor Wars? [5]

Ans. (b)

This looks like a special public ceremony organized by the EIC as various well-dressed people are standing in their assigned places. They are receiving the hostages, Tipu's sons, in a very formal way to show the interaction between the British and the Indians Sultan of Mysore. Lord Cornwallis is holding the hand of one of Tipu's sons to convey message to Tipu to fulfill the terms of the Treaty agreed between the two. The painting portrays Cornwallis and his army as gentle and kind though no details are known about how the hostages were treated. The hostages might have been kept in an undignified environment. Tipu would be defeated and killed in his last battle in 1799 fighting against Lord Wellesley.

Source A: an excerpt about the Maratha Empire from the Internet link

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maratha_Empire

"The Maratha Empire was a power that dominated a large portion of the Indian sub-continent in the 18th century. The Empire formally existed from 1674 with the coronation of Shivaji as the Chchatrapati and ended in 1818 with the defeat of Peshwa Bajirao-II at the

hands of the British East India Company. The Marathas are credited to a large extent for ending Mughal rule over most of the Indian sub-continent.”

Q. (a) According to Source A what information we get about the Marathas? [3]

Ans.

The Marathas established their Empire over a vast part of India. Their rule began with the coronation of Shivaji in 1674, and ended by the British in 1818. They contributed to the end of Mughal rule in several parts of India.

Source B: a painting of the 2nd Anglo-Maratha war, 1803-1805.



Q. (b) From Source B what do we learn about the two combatants? [5]

Ans.

The British troops seem to be making rapid advances against the Marathas as their cavalry and foot soldiers are pressing their rivals hard. This is due to a much more disciplined British army with more destructive weapons. There are thick clouds hovering over the sky that might have benefited the British as they were familiar with the art of successful fight in rainy season. Many Marathas are lying dead or wounded on the ground that reflects their defeat is imminent. However, the Marathan flag is still prominent that shows their strong determination to resist the British. The Marathan threat would finally be eliminated by the British in 1818.

Q Why were British able to replace the Mughals as the ruling force of India? [7]

Ans:

British were militarily superior to the Indians/Mughal rulers. British were the first and foremost beneficiary of the Industrial Revolution and 1780 onwards they began to acquire sophisticated weapons while developing other industries. They used these weapons against the Mughals who continued to rely on outdated weapons and old warfare. They had a strong sense of success that kept their determination unshaken. This sense of superiority was the main motivating force behind their victorious march in India.

British also used non-military warfare to establish themselves in India. Their “divide and rule” policy enabled them to annex various states by keeping their rulers hostile against each other. Indians had been a divided nation and many state rulers sought British help against their rivals without considering their collective interests. Many of them were bribed or threatened by the EIC. They also bribed key ministers of various local rulers to win their support. Mir Ja’far in Bengal, and Mir Sadiq in Mysore played key role by switching their loyalties to the British. Therefore, the British achieved vital victories in the battle of Plassey 1757 against Nawab Siraj ud Daula of Bengal, and the last Anglo-Mysore war against Tipu in 1799.

By the start of 18th century the Mughals got involved in a luxurious style of life neglecting state affairs. Rulers of several peripheral states became autonomous and they proved an easy target for the British. Weak successors of Aurangzeb gradually lost their control over a huge empire as several local rulers became autonomous. These successors became luxury-loving, and distanced themselves from the state affairs that were given in the hands of greedy and selfish courtiers and ministers. These ministers were mainly concerned about misusing the state funds and filling their own pockets. They remained ignorant of the EIC acquiring military power.

Q: How successful was the Indian resistance against the British between 1750 and 1850?

Or

Q: How successful were the British in expanding their control over Indian territories between 1750 and 1850? [14]

Ans:

Indians made several attempts against the British. They had a mix of successes and failures. Since India was a huge territory with several armies under powerful Nawabs, British could not have any major success till as late as 1757, in northern India. Powerful armies of various strong rulers kept British from gaining political control of these states.

In southern India, the Marathas and the rulers of Mysore (Deccan) also offered stiff resistance till 1799. The ruler of Mysore Hyder Ali, and then his son Tipu Sultan fought three fierce wars against the British, the Anglo-Mysore wars from 1770’s to 1799. Hyder Ali, assisted by his son and the French naval force, got a significant victory in 1780-1782. According to McLeod, “Hyder Ali gave a damned rap over the knuckles of the British.” He captured Carnatic, Arcot and Cuddalore in the war. After his sudden death in 1782, his son Tipu continued to resist the British. He defeated Brigadier Mathews in 1783 and captured Bendore and Bangalore. With success from both sides, the 2nd Anglo-Mysore war ended in 1784 under the Treaty of Mangalore. The British had to launch a propaganda campaign against Tipu to depopularise him.

Lord Hastings was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis who fought the 3rd Anglo-Mysore war against Tipu. He provoked Tipu by giving help to the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1789. Tipu attacked the British and the war lasted for about two years. Tipu was initially successful but later had to accept the Treaty of Serangapatam in 1792.

The Marathas also gave very tough time to the British in the first Anglo-Mysore war, 1775-1782. Lord Hastings policy of handling Marathas was quite defective that emboldened Marathas. Marathas continued to resist British till 1818.

In north-western India, the Sikh ruler of Punjab, Raja Ranjit Singh became a need for the British due to his own power as well as the strategic location of Punjab. British needed him to counter the Russian threat through Afghanistan. Moreover, the defeat of the British in Afghanistan in 1841 lowered their prestige in India. Mir Nisar Ali, popularly known as Titu Mir Shaheed, offered stiff resistance to the British in the west Bengal till his killing in 1831. He had raised an army of volunteer fighters, and kept it in fort of bamboos.

However, Indians had a greater number of failures during this period of time. They suffered their first humiliating defeat in 1757 in the battle of Plassey in Bengal. Nawab Siraj ud Daula of Bengal fought against Robert Clive of the EIC and was defeated and killed; partly due to the military superiority of the British and partly to the treachery of Mir Jafar who had been bribed by the EIC. British gained a very important north-eastern Indian territory. Second major defeat suffered by Indians was in 1764 in the battle of Buxar. A combined army, of the Mughal ruler Shah Alam II and Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh, was crushed by the EIC solely due to its superior fighting skills. A larger area of north-eastern India came under the EIC.

In south India, the EIC kept the Marathas, ruler of Mysore and the Nizam of Hyderabad divided to decisively defeat Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore. Lord Wellesley's army defeated and killed Tipu Sultan in the last Anglo-Mysore war in 1799. Tipu's general Mir Sadiq had been bribed by the EIC.

The EIC got rid of the Marathan threat in 1818 in the 3rd and last Marathan war by defeating their Peshwa Baji Rao II and got several states of southern and central India.

In 1803 the EIC army entered Delhi and shifted the royal court from Red Fort to Qutab Saheb and thus gained a major victory. Amirs of Sindh were provoked in 1843 to attack the British. This way the British had undone the damage done to their prestige in Afghanistan. Titu Mir was defeated by the British in 1831, and his fort of bamboos was destroyed. This gave British complete control over Bengal.

Finally, the Indians lost the strategic north-western territory of Punjab and Kashmir between 1846 and 1849. The British, after their defeat in Afghanistan in 1841, decided to undo the damage to their prestige. Accordingly, the Amirs of Sindh were provoked by the British, and they attacked and annexed Sindh in 1843. Ranjit Singh's death caused political turmoil in Punjab that was exploited by the EIC. It defeated the Sikhs in second Anglo-Sikh war and annexed Punjab from 1846 to 1849.

The British acting wisely, forced the state princes to sign peace treaties with them. Under the treaties, these states were given internal autonomy and were required to acknowledge the British sovereignty by paying various taxes to them.

It may be concluded that the Indian resistance was an utter failure because they continued to lose various territories to the British due to their own disunity and clever strategy and military supremacy of the British.

Q.1 (a) According to Source A, why did many people die at Fort William in 1756?

[3]

Source A

Fort William, Calcutta, 1756

"On the evening of 20 June, some 64 prisoners including two women and several wounded soldiers were marched at sword point to the filthy dungeon at Fort William. This was a little cell, measuring 18 feet by 14 feet 10 inches, designed for no more than three petty criminals. The heat at this time of year was suffocating. Prisoners trampled on each other to get nearer one of the two tiny windows or to the small amount of water they had been left.

Their guards mocked them as the prisoners gasped for air and pleaded for mercy. At 6 am the next morning, when the door was opened, dead bodies were piled up inside.”

Adapted from an essay in History Today, 2006

Ans.

Several troops died as they were already wounded. They were trapped in a very small cell with poor ventilation and scorching heat of summer. They desperately struggled to reach out for fresh air and water for survival. In the panic many were trampled and crushed to death. The guards on duty remained oblivious to the misery of the prisoners.

Source B

Famine in the subcontinent



Q. What can we learn from Source B about famine in the subcontinent during British control?
[5]

Ans.

Physical condition of the afflicted people shows that the famine has been there for a long time. Their bodies have been reduced to skeleton, with poor clothing and bare feet. They

look quite weak due to the effects of a prolonged state of malnutrition. The man distributing the food also carries visible effects of the famine. Victims of this disaster include men, women and children who are eagerly waiting for food and relief. The man in the bowler hat seems to be a government official, appointed by the British government to supervise the relief operation. Despite an organised effort to help the affected population, the British would have to face fierce opposition by the Indians, especially the people of Bengal.

(c) Explain why Robert Clive was successful in the Battle of Plassey in 1757.

[7]

Ans.

Robert Clive was a skilled and experienced military commander. His victorious journey started from his victory in the Battle of Arcot in 1751. In this he defeated the combined army of the Nawab of Carnatic and the French EIC. This gave him more confidence against the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud Daulah whom he defeated in 1757 by using both military strategy and clever tactic of bribing the Nawab's key man, Mir Jafar. Jafar's defection weakened the Nawab's army, which Clive was able to use to his advantage. Jafar did not mobilize his troops when the battle began.

In the course of the battle, heavy rainfall affected the scenario. Clive, acting cleverly, ordered his men to cover their cannon when it rained. The Nawab's army kept their weapons uncovered, and continued to fire aimlessly during the rain. As a result of this, their weapons became wet. When the rain stopped, Clive ordered his soldiers to start firing against the enemy. The Nawab's army tried to respond to this attack but their cannons and guns could not fire due to wet powder.

Finally, the tables were turned against them. The Nawab's army had to retreat due to their ineffective weapons caused by the Nawab's poor strategy. Clive's army, with a renewed spirit, attacked with full force. While retreating, the Nawab's army lost 500 troops against only 22 soldiers of Clive's army. This disparity of casualties proved decisive in favour of Robert Clive.

Q: Did educational reforms have a more important effect on the Indians than the social, religious and economic ones introduced by the British during the years 1773 to 1856? Explain your answer.

[14]

Ans:

British established themselves in India through their educational reforms. British had carried a firm belief in the superiority of their culture, especially their educational system. According to a British official in 1835, "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". British felt justified in holding such views as they had emerged a military giant and scientifically advanced due to their success in science and technology. They considered it their duty to spread their superior culture.

They introduced English as the official language in 1834 and gradually popularised their own education system. This scheme was master-minded by Thomas Babington Macaulay. Several schools, many run by Christian missionaries, were set up throughout India, 1830 onwards. These steps had a westernising effect on India but Indians resisted it inwardly as they thought the British were trying to impose their culture on India.

British also took steps to introduce other social reforms. They abolished Satee, a Hindu custom of burning widow alive on the cremation of her husband. They eradicated Thuggee, another Hindu ritual of killing their victims in the name of a goddess. In 1830, Colonel Sleeman's army arrested 2000 thugs. This step was welcomed by Indians as the custom had terrified Hindus and Muslims alike. In 1795, female infanticide (killing baby daughters) was abolished by the EIC and it was declared as an act of murder. Most Hindus resisted this and the ban on Satee because they considered these British acts as direct interference with the local religious and cultural traditions. Eventually, however, these British attempts had a good effect on Indian life.

In 1833, the EIC allowed Christian missionaries to preach in India. Accordingly, several missionaries began their mission of spreading Christianity in India. They also spread Western knowledge and way of life, thinking themselves superior to the local people. As a result, the missionaries got intolerant towards Indians, and this caused resentment among Indians. Gradually, there were conversions among locals, especially among the Sudras. Christianity slowly emerged as a major religion in India. Also, a new community, Anglo-Indians emerged in India.

British EIC made it compulsory for Indian sepoy to serve the EIC army wherever needed. According to Hindu belief, a caste Hindu would lose caste by traveling overseas and so, this step of EIC was condemned by Hindu community.

British also affected the economy of India by their involvement with the local economic matters. They imposed heavy taxes on Indians to fully exploit local resources. Some of the tax collectors became corrupt and kept the money with themselves. Peasants and small land owners were worst affected by heavy taxes. Salaries of Indian sepoy were kept lower than British soldiers. Indian wealth and raw materials were used to feed British factories in England, while Indian markets were flooded with British manufactured goods. Local products could not match these goods in quality and price. Consequently, many rich Indians became poor. A British official remarked on this by equating the phenomenon with "a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames". Indians felt exploited and economically ruined and gradually hatred grew against the British leading to the 1857 uprising.

To conclude, it seems that educational reforms affected Indians more than other reforms because, with a new education system, British were able to raise a team of Indians fully loyal to the British. These Indians opposed any uprising against their new rulers.

Q: Was the work of the Christian missionaries the most important reason why the Indians opposed British attempts to westernize them between 1750 and 1850? Explain your answer. (10)

Ans.

Christian missionaries came to India to spread Christianity by various means. 1833 onwards, the activity of the Christian missionaries became more visible. They were seen at all public places, distributing the Christian literature freely. They enjoyed the support of the EIC. Several missionary schools were set up in all the major Indian towns where teaching of

the Bible to the local students was introduced. In these schools the missionaries taught Christianity and expected local religions to be given up which was resented by Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs alike. Gradually, the British began to develop the belief that their Christian values made them superior to the local faith followed by the Indians: Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. As a result the ruling British community in India began to show intolerance towards the local religions. Many Indians started believing that an alien culture was being imposed on them. So, not many Indians changed their religion.

However, there were other reasons why the Indians opposed the British attempts to westernize them. The British replaced Persian and Sanskrit with English as the official language in the 1830's. This deeply upset both the Muslims and Hindus as these had been the popular languages of India for centuries. Therefore, they felt the native languages might be adversely affected by English because language has always been a very effective tool of the ruling elite.

The British introduced a number of social reforms without consultation or care for local feeling which caused much unrest. Modern British education was resisted by the Indians. Moreover, they were required to send their children to co-educational schools which was hated since it appeared to impose the British traditions on the Indians without due regard to their religious and cultural feelings. Thomas Macaulay believed in the superiority of the European advancement in knowledge and therefore, he looked down upon the Indians and the Arabic education system. Not surprisingly, a British official in 1835 remarked, "A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." Such ideas generated resentment among Indians against the British. They were more infuriated when they were forced to abandon 'purdha'/Hejab which had been an Indian custom for centuries. The Muslim community, in particular, opposed such steps as they went against the fundamental teachings of Islam.

In 1795, female infanticide/killing of baby daughters was declared to be murder, but the British found difficulty in enforcing this as it was again a tradition practiced by Hindus in many parts of India. Suttee was the Hindu ritual of burning a widow alive on the cremation of her husband. When the British abolished it first in Bengal and then in the rest of the country, they faced fierce opposition by some of the Hindu tribes. In fact many British were not in favour of going to this extent of involvement in the local religious beliefs and traditions, surprisingly there was little opposition to the ban on this inhuman custom. Similarly, the encouragement of the widow remarriage was also criticized by several Hindus.

Analyzing objectively, it may be concluded that the work of the Christian missionaries was the most important reason for the Indian opposition to the British because religious beliefs and practices had been tremendously dear to the Indians. They could go to any extent against whoever tried to intrude into this cultural sphere and that means they could make it a matter of life and death when it came to imposing other religions on them.

THE 1857 WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Causes:

(1) Political:-

- Annexation policy of the EIC → various means e.g. the “Doctrine of Lapse” by Lord Dalhousie 1852 → capture of Oudh in 1856 → local rulers felt insecure & considered the British greedy land grabbers
- Disrespect of the Mughal rule → shifting the royal family from the Red Fort to the Qutub Saheb by Dalhousie
- Negligible share of Indians in the civil service + 1834, English replaced Persian as the court language → resentment among Indians to such policies

(2) Cultural (religious & social)

- Dominating Brit Culture +arrogant attitude towards Indians → introduction of roads, railways & telecommunication unacceptable to many Indians.
- Role of Christian missionaries → preaching & missionary schools → Indians felt their religious interests threatened

(3) Economic:

- Indian Resources for Brit industry → huge profits from sale of manufactured goods in India → local industry declined
- Heavy taxation → unaffordable for poor & small farmers + corrupt tax collectors.

(4) Military:

- Indians were bulk of British army, but on lower ranks only → Sepoys & Sawars (cavalry)
- Insulting attitude of Brit officers towards Indians
- Overseas journey, not allowed in Hinduism
- Fear of forcible conversion to Christianity
- Indian troops in Afghanistan → resented esp by Hindus
- Greased cartridges → fat of pig & cow

Causes of failure of the War of Independence

(1) Lack of Unity:

- Different groups with different interests in different parts of India → Hindus & Muslims not united → most princes not willing to restore Mughal rule → some princes wanted restoration of their individual feudal powers e.g. Kashmir → power of its ruler depended on Brit rule.

(2) Lack of support by many provinces:

- → the revolt was not supported by Punjab & Sindh → conquered by troops from Bengal & Central India → they didn't support these provinces

(3) Lack of planning & aims:

- → Hastily organized effort → no prior planning & no co-ordinated effort → rebels not clear about a common goal & so , were easily overpowered by the Brit → no real sense of national patriotism

(4) British strengths:

- Highly disciplined Brit army → a good team of generals with experience in warfare & fighting techniques → Brit had diplomatic skills & retained control over most of territories by keeping various groups divided.

Effects of the War

- End of the Mughal rule → strict punishment for the royal family & the last Mughal ruler, Bahadar Shah Zafar
- Establishment of Brit rule → India became a Brit Colony.
- Harsh penalties for rebels, especially the Muslims → they were held main culprits → public hangings, stitching the dead in pigskins → all respectable posts were denied to them.
- Brit changed their policy → no further annexation, no interference with religious beliefs.
- Gradual political awakening among Indians → rise of leadership and political parties → 1885, INC was founded
- Brit adopted measures to win Indian confidence → 1877 Queen of England became Empress India.

Reasons for the British being able to conquer India

- (1)** Indian weaknesses → disunity among various groups → no uniting force, as the Mughal rule in process of decline.
- Many rulers sought Brit help against their rivals, instead of considering Brit as common enemy.
 - Failure of many rulers to reform their states & improve social conditions → they lived on their past history & neglected State affairs.
- (2)** British strengths → fruits of the Industrial revolution → advanced technology, superior weapons, better means of communication and strong confidence about their success.
- Strong sense of patriotism → main uniting force, together with a sense of superior culture that they wanted to spread
 - Political belief to make progress & to rule a larger part of the world
 - Such beliefs acted as driving force in making successful efforts to conquer India.

Q: Describe the events of the War of Independence. [4]

Ans.

In March 1857, the Hindu sepoy Mangal Panday was executed after he had defied his officers. In May, sepoys in Meerut refused to touch the new greased cartridges. They were court-martialled and jailed, but their fellows freed them. Several British officers were killed in Meerut. The Mughal King Bahadur Shah Zafar became the unifying symbol for all the rebels. They soon captured many important cities in northern and central India. In September, the British began to recapture the lost towns, and the war ended in June 1858.

Q: What happened at the Battle of Kanpur? [4]

Ans.

In November-December 1857, the rebels led by Nana Sahib Peshwa, captured Kanpur, near Lucknow and held it out for three weeks. They killed the British officers and slaughtered 300 women and children while taking several as captives. The British sent reinforcements and recaptured the city. Nana Sahib escaped. The captured rebels were given horrible punishments in revenge.

Q: Who was Rani of Jhansi/Lakshmibai? [4]

Ans:

Her name was Laxmibai, and was queen of the North Indian state of Jhansi. In the initial phase of the War of Independence, she remained friendly with the British. Relations, however, got strained soon after the British regained control of Lucknow. She led rebel sepoys, assisted by another Indian general Tatya Topi, against the British. The British, led by Major Hugh Rose, attacked Jhansi, in March 1858. She escaped to Gwalior and was finally, killed in her last battle, in June 1858.

Q. Who was Mangal Panday? [4]

Ans.

Mangal Panday was the famous Indian sepoy in the Bengal Native Infantry of the EIC. He defied the British officers in March 1857, mobilized many rebels for the 1857 war. He attacked and wounded the British Gen. Baugh and then another officer Hewson. The matter was reported to Gen. Hearsey who immediately controlled the situation. Mangal Panday was tried and executed on 8 April 1857. With this, the War of Independence began and spread to many parts of India.

Q: The war of Independence was caused by the introduction of social reforms by the British. Do you agree? Explain. [14]

Ans:

Social reforms were resented by the Indians. British introduced a series of social reforms most of which were disliked by the Indians. When the Hindu custom of Satee was banned and remarriage of the widow was encouraged the Hindus reacted strongly. In Satee the widow was burned alive in the cremation ceremony of her dead husband. Most of the widowed women in Hindu community were supposed not to remarry. Therefore, when British changed these traditions, Hindus took this step as interference in their religious traditions. Similarly the introduction of the co-education system and a discouraging attitude of the observance of Hijab/Purda was resisted by the Muslims for whom these steps were against their socio-religious traditions.

British started a number of social development schemes such as roads, railways and telecommunications. Though they benefitted India in general, many in the north-western parts of India thought that British had introduced the railway system only to ensure quick movement of troops in case of Russian attack through Afghanistan.

Westernization of Indian educational system was also not welcomed by a majority of Indians because of Lord Macaulay's contemptuous remarks about the Indian educational standard. When English began to replace Urdu and Hindi as the official language, in 1834, both Hindus and Muslims opposed this as they took such measures as an onslaught on local cultural traditions. Generally, the British were derogatory towards Indians.

Growth of the activities of the Christian missionaries during the second half of 19th century also promoted a sense of insecurity among Indians specially when there were reports of forcible conversion of Indians into Christianity. Christian missionaries were active at all public places like, schools, parks, markets and they believed it was their duty to impose a superior culture and religion on all Indians.

In military affairs too, the British officers treated Indian subordinates in an arrogant way and they were denied any promotion regardless of their services for the British. Indian sepoys were given lesser salaries as compared to the British soldiers. This inculcated hatred and frustration among Indians. When an ordinance was issued about the services of Indians anywhere in the world, both Hindus and the Muslims felt offended. According to Hindu belief, a caste Hindu would become a Sudra if he travelled overseas. Muslim troops were reluctant to fight the fellow Afghan Muslim troops in the Company's army.

British policy of annexation was also very alarming for Indians, specially the way the Doctrine of lapse was enforced in 1852 by Lord Dalhousie. Under this, any state whose ruler didn't have a son was annexed by the EIC. States of Nana Sahib Peshwa (Kanpur) and Rani of Jhansi were unjustly annexed as both had sons. Many states were annexed by force or on weak pretexts such as Sindh and Bengal. After entering Delhi in 1803, the EIC shifted the Mughal royal family from the Red Fort to Qutub Sahib. This too promoted anger among Indians.

Heavy taxation on Indians and exploitation of local raw materials and wealth for the British factories in England was another major reason. As factory made better cotton began to replace the local hand processed cotton, millions of hand weavers of cotton were rendered jobless and suffered from starvation and died.

Finally, by the start of 1857, new cartridges for the Enfield rifles were introduced. It was rumored that they were wrapped in the fat of cow and pig and they had to be chewed out before use. Hindus accorded motherly status to cows whereas for Muslims pig was Haram (forbidden). So, both Hindu and Muslim troops refused to use these cartridges. Mangal Panday was the first soldier to have refused them in March 1857 and with this the revolt spread to other parts of India.

It seems the introduction of social reforms was the most important reason because the social and cultural values were very dear to Indians who took them as the first and most

important mark of their identity. So, when the EIC tried to change them the Indian reaction was in proportion to the British efforts.

Q: To what extent were economic reforms the main cause of the War of Independence in 1857? Explain your answer. [10]

Ans:

Economic exploitation of India by the British was a major reason of the War of Independence. In the beginning the British traders conducted trade in a way that benefited Indians, too. However, as they got control of several Indian states, they introduced new trading laws and revenue reforms that were aimed at exploiting Indian resources and wealth. They imposed heavy taxes on Indian peasants and small landowners to fill their treasury. Lord Warren Hastings introduced the concept of putting the tax collectors up for auction. This tempted many locals to acquire the post by paying heavy money to the Company. Once the ambitious candidates got the desired position of tax collector, they would use all tactics to extort taxes from the Indians. This resulted in poverty and starvation among Indians that whipped up anger and resentment against the British with the passage of time. Moreover, exploitation of local raw materials and wealth for the British factories in England was also noticed with great concern by the Indians. As factory made better cotton began to replace the local hand processed cotton, millions of hand weavers of cotton were rendered jobless and suffered from starvation and died.

Social reforms were resented by the Indians. British introduced a series of social reforms most of which were disliked by the Indians. When the Hindu custom of Satee was banned and remarriage of the widow was encouraged the Hindus reacted strongly. In Satee the widow was burned alive in the cremation ceremony of her dead husband. Most of the widowed women in Hindu community were supposed not to remarry. Therefore, when British changed these traditions, Hindus took this step as interference in their religious traditions. Similarly the introduction of the co-education system and a discouraging attitude of the observance of Hijab/Purda was resisted by the Muslims for whom these steps were against their socio-religious traditions.

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It seems the economic reforms became the main reason of the 1857 war because with rising poverty, unemployment, hunger and starvation, the Indians felt themselves being pushed to the wall. The cumulative anger and frustration finally burst into a collective though desperate uprising against the British.

Q: Why did the Indians not achieve independence in 1857?
or

Explain the reasons for the failure of the War of Independence. (7)

Ans. Indians were disunited in the War. The divide between Hindus and Muslims was visible as Hindus were not sincere in restoring the Mughal rule. In different places different groups fought for different reasons, thus weakening their own strength. The Punjab and Sindh had been recently annexed by the EIC with the help of troops from Bengal and Central India. So, when the same troops rebelled against the British, the two provinces were uninterested in helping the rebellion and the Punjab actually sent troops and supplies to help the British. The Maharaja of Kashmir also sent troops for the same purpose.

There was no general plan before the start of the War that started abruptly by the defiance of a single soldier Mangal Panday. The rebels perhaps forgot that they were fighting against a very strong nation and that required a well thought out war plan. During the course of the War, this lack of planning and coordination became more prominent as various rebel groups did not know how to proceed in case of any success. This helped the British to regain their control within a year. Rebels began to plunder their fellow countrymen after taking control of many cities. Thus the affected people preferred to leak information to the British about the rebels.

The British had a professionally trained army with several experienced commanders who had been trained to deal with such emergencies. They had been familiar with the modern methods of fighting a huge army with a lesser number of troops. Moreover,

the British had a strong sense of success as they were one of the most powerful nations of the world at that time. So, their confident and disciplined army took little time in overcoming the revolt.

Q: A lack of unity was the main reason for the failure of the War of Independence. Do you agree? Explain. [14]

Ans:

Indians were not united in the War. Right from the beginning the Hindu-Muslim divide was evident. Hindus had no reason to fight for the restoration of the Mughal rule in India. So, on many fronts both communities did not support each other. At many places different groups fought for different reasons. The only real uniting force was Islam as the Mughal rule had been established by the Muslim community. Being a minority in India and ruling it for centuries, the Muslims were more prepared than other communities to oppose the British. Therefore, any degree of unity among Muslims greatly alarmed the Hindus and Sikhs. That is one major reason why the British viewed the War of Independence as predominantly a 'Muslim revolt'.

Moreover, some of the rulers were ready to withdraw from the War if the British promised to fulfill their demands e.g. Nana Saheb Peshwa. Some of the state princes were interested only in restoring their own feudal powers. In some cases their powers actually depended on the support of the British. That is why the ruler of Kashmir sent 2000 troops to help the British. This greatly weakened the spirit of the uprising on the whole.

The rebel forces were generally not well-organised, and did not have a concrete common goal ahead of them. Such rebels, in fact, gave vent to their frustration and anger due to their growing poverty. This is why many of them began to plunder their fellow countrymen after taking control of many cities. Thus the affected people preferred to leak information to the British about the rebels instead of supporting them. This disunity was a blessing for the British who fully exploited it, and began to regain control over the lost territories.

The uprising was a hasty and unplanned desperate attempt by the troops after Mangal Pandey's refusal to use the grease cartridges. This encouraged sepoys in some other provinces to defy their British officers, too. Consequently most of the Indian troops from selected provinces stood up against the British without any proper planning. As the uprising spread to other provinces, there was no coordination among troops about the future line of action. This became a major reason for the failure of the War of Independence.

British, on the other hand, had many strengths. They were one of the powerful nations of the world with sophisticated and destructive weapons. They had a regular, highly disciplined and professionally trained army. Their skilled military commanders carried a strong sense of success due to their professional training. British army had been trained in dealing with such emergencies. The rebels, on the other hand, did not have any such leaders to counter the British. Therefore, they retained control of about 3/4th of their possessions and restricted the uprising to a smaller belt of northern and central Indian provinces. They also had a strong sense of success due to their victories in other parts of the world. They skillfully followed their policy of "divide and rule" when they saw the Indian inherent disunity. They applied both military and non-military tactics in a diplomatic way in exploiting the weakness of several Indian rulers who were fighting to regain their own rule. As a result, the British kept control in more than three quarters of their possessions.

It may be concluded that a lack of unity was the decisive factor for the failure of the War because in case all Indians had become united, it might have been impossible for the British to put down the uprising, keeping in mind the size of Indian population.

Q: The War of Independence achieved nothing/little for the Indians. Do you agree? Explain. [14]

Ans:

The 1857 War led to disastrous consequences. As far as its immediate results are concerned they brought miseries to Indians in general and to Muslims in particular. Muslims were exclusively targetted because British had taken political control from them and they wanted to erase any sense of "imperial pride" from their minds. At many places mass executions were carried out publicly and the dead were stitched in the pigskin. Muslims were denied all respectable posts. Raids were conducted at the houses of several notable people on the ground of suspicion and harsh treatment was meted out in general. Sepoys were blown away by tying their bodies at the mouths of the cannons. The purpose was to create awe and horror in the minds of the Indians.

Mughal rule was officially abolished and the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was exiled to Rangoon (Myanmar/Burma) where his sons were beheaded and he himself was given death sentence that was commuted to life imprisonment due to his advanced age. India became a British colony.

British also became cautious and selective in military matters. They began to recruit troops from the relatively loyal provinces such as Punjab KP and Kashmir, and followed the policy of encouraging the "martial race" of Pathans and Punjabis.

However, gradually it became apparent that the War gave Indians something positive, too. Indians had learned the hard lesson that militarily they were no match to the British. Therefore, now they would resist British rule politically. As a result Indians began to develop political awareness and founded political parties ____ INC in 1885 and ML in 1906. Indians got leaders and reformers like Sir Syed, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak, Gandhi and Jinnah.

British government abolished the EIC under Allahabad Declaration of 1858. Under this, all annexation policies were abandoned e.g. the doctrine of lapse. British government promised respect of local religious faiths and practices. They also decided to train Indians in politics by introducing political reforms periodically. Queen of England adopted the additional title of "Empress of India" in 1877 in order to win the Indian confidence.

British government introduced a "chain of command" to govern India. British parliament would make laws for India with the assistance of a Secretary of State for India and a Viceroy. Secretary of State would visit India when needed while the Viceroy was stationed in India. He was assisted by a team of governors (always British) and the Viceroy's Executive Council.

In the final analysis, it seems that the War of 1857 was on the whole a failed attempt by Indians as it failed to achieve the primary objective of driving the British out of India. Instead, the British eliminated the Mughal rule forever. India would now be governed directly by the British government for another nine decades.

Q. (a) What does source A, an extract from the book of a British historian, tell us about the British feelings after the War? [3]

"While it is true that large numbers of European women and children were murdered with great brutality, some of the stories have been exaggerated. The British forces felt that every male Indian capable of carrying weapons was guilty of such crimes. Therefore, they adopted a punitive attitude towards all Indians after the War. Mass hangings were carried out publicly and at many places the dead were stitched in the pig-skin."

Ans.

According to the source, the British authorities were looking for any excuse to punish the Indians. They began to penalize Indians in an indiscriminate way even though all Indians might not have participated in the tragic events of targeting the unarmed British families. They developed strong feelings of revenge and resentment against the Indians and decided to teach them horrible lessons.

Q. (b) According to the source B, a photograph of the events of the War of Independence, describes the scene of the battlefield? [5]



Ans.

This seems to be the initial phase of the War. Indian rebels, carrying traditional weapons, are shown in a very hostile mood that is a result of cumulative anger against the British. They are attacking a British soldier/officer who is desperately trying to defend himself while his wife and child seem to have been killed. This means the rebels are not going to spare even the British women and children. Some other British soldiers can also be seen lying on the ground that means the rebels have put them on the defensive. Indians are shown to be fully spirited, and are ready to kill as many British as they can. Despite this, the British would emerge victorious, and punish several Indians after the war.

Work of Three Reformers to Revive Islam in India
During 18th and 19th Centuries
Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1762)

Introduction:

- Born as Qutub-ud-Din, to the famous scholar, religious advisor to A.zeb & founder of the “Madrassa-i-Rahimiya” , Shah Abdul Rahim, 1703, Delhi.
- Began teaching in the Madrassa, 1718, on father’s death
- 1724-1732, in Arabia; studied under sheikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim
- Decided to work for revival of Islam, after being blessed by the vision of the Prophet in Arabia.

Beliefs / reasons for his work:

- Moved by the declining Mughal rule & deplorable conditions of Indian Muslims, after A. Zeb’s death; analyzed that the Muslim community could bring about some change.
- Thought, the main reason for the deteriorating status of Muslims was the neglect of the Quran & Sunnah; Muslims should understand the Quran.
- Result of forgetting the Quranic teachings
- Growing influence of un-Islamic elements in social, economic, political & personal matters of Muslims.
- Sectarian divide among Muslims should become a united community in order to restore their glory.
- Threat to Mughal rule from within & outside, e.g., Sikhs, Marathas & Europeans.

Work / Services:

- Presented himself a role model before Muslims---- an authority on the Quran, Hadith, Fiqh/Fiqah or Islamic legal thinking & Tasawuf/Sufism.
- Translated the Quran into Persian (language easily comprehensible; the Ulema (Muslim scholars) sharply criticized, but the work got popular; later, his 2 sons translated it into Urdu.
- Wrote several books in Persian & Arabic to guide the Muslims; e.g., “Hujjatullah al Baligha & Izalat ul Akhfa; accounts of the four caliphs of Islam in a way acceptable to Sunnis & Shias.
- Stressed on the value of social justice for ordinary people in order to create equilibrium in society; urged Muslims to be honest & emphasized on Ijtihad (rational thinking in Islam to resolve modern issues).
- Practical steps to counter threats to the Mughal rule, especially the Marathas; invited the Afghan general Ahmed Shah Abdali; Abdali, with the help of local rulers, defended the Marathas in the 3rd battle of Panipat, 1761; unfortunately, the defeat was not exploited by Muslim rulers to make a united force.

Importance of his work:

- First Muslim thinker to attempt revival of Islam & regenerate Muslims in the wake of Mughal decline; analysed the real reason of decline by linking it to the neglect of the Quran.
- His work survived---- in the form of his writings & thousands of followers from Madrassa-i-Rahimiya, e.g, his sons & SAS (Syed Ahmed Shaheed) took concrete steps to bridge the sectarian differences among Muslims; unified Muslims to counter various threats, the Marathas.
- Highlighted the importance & need of Jihad to save Indian Muslims at a critical time.

Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1762)

Q. Who was Shah Wali Ullah? [4]

Ans.

He was a Muslim reformer, born in 1703, in Delhi. He was educated at the Madrassa Rahimiya in Delhi, founded by his father Shah Abdul Rahim. He went to Arabia in 1724 and returned in 1732. He was strongly influenced by the famous scholar Sheikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim and made his mind to reform the Muslim society in India. He wrote 51 books, the most famous being, 'Hujjat Ullah al-Baligha' and translated the Holy Quran into Persian. He worked for promoting unity among Muslims and died in 1762.

Q. Describe the services/achievements of Shah Wali Ullah. [4]

Ans.

Shah Wali Ullah wrote several books in which he analyzed the reasons of the decline of the Muslim community in India. His most famous book was 'Hujjat Ullah al-Baligha'. He also translated the Holy Quran into Persian under the title, 'Fat'h ur Rahman'. He urged Muslims to follow the teachings of Quran and Sunnah in order to hope for restoration of their lost glory. He invited Ahmed Shah Abdali to save the Mughal rule. Abdali defeated the Marathas in the 3rd battle of Panipat in 1761.

Q. Why did Shah Wali Ullah wish to revive Islam in the sub-continent?
(7)

Ans:

Shah Wali Ullah was a great reformer. He was born in 1703, only four years before the death of Aurangzeb. Therefore, he was a witness to, and worried over the process of the decline of the Mughal Empire and the deteriorating condition of the Indian Muslims. He believed that the main reason of the miserable condition of the Muslims was their ignorance of Quran and Sunnah. Persian, the court language, was understood by the educated Muslim elite. So, he translated the Quran into Persian language. This way a greater number of Muslims could understand and follow the Quranic teachings.

In order to create awareness among Muslims regarding the problems faced by them and the possible solutions to the problems, he wrote several books. The most famous book was, "Hujjat Ullah al-Baligha" in which he analysed the problems of the Muslim community. In "Izalat ul Khafa"(usually misspelt as Izalat ul Ikhfa), he tried to remove the differences between the two major sects of Islam, Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. In this he wrote the biographies of the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs in a way acceptable to both the major sects.

He also advised Muslims to work honestly and with dedication if they really wanted to come out of a state of helplessness and ignorance that they had inherited from their corrupt, weak and luxury loving rulers. As a result of this, there were several threats to the Mughal rule in India both from within and outside. He emphasized the importance of Jihad against a common enemy. Therefore, he invited Ahmed Shah Abdali of Afghanistan to save it. Accordingly, Abdali broke the backbone of the South Indian militant Hindu community, the Marathas. He defeated them in the third and last Battle of Panipat in 1761, though he himself did not stay back in India.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi (SASB) (1786-1831)

Introduction:

- Born 1786, Rae Bareli, near Lucknow in a Syed family
- 1806, father's death, studied in Madrassa-i-Rahimiya, under sons of SWU.
- 1810, joined army of Amir Khan, a Pathan leader; learned military skills; returned to Delhi; 1817; to Arabia, 1821-1823; strongly influenced by Sheikh Abdul Wahab (founder of the Wahabi movement)
- Started his J.M. (Jehad Movement) 1823, against Sikhs of Punjab.
- 1831, last battle against the Sikhs forces at Balakot (Abbotabad), was defeated & killed together with most of his soldiers (Mujahideen).

His beliefs / reasons for his work:

- Freedom of Indian Muslims by Jihad or armed struggle; several parts of India under the rule of non-Muslims, mainly, wanted to restore Muslim rule.
- Wanted to eradicate un-Islamic elements in order to ensure moral, intellectual & spiritual revival of Muslims; need to end evils & corruptions in Muslim society.
- Strong Sikh rule in Punjab & weak Mughal rule due to British policy
- Tyrant Sikh rule under Ranjit Singh, made lives of Muslims quite difficult
- Ban on Azan, congregational prayers; use of Badshahi mosque, Lhr as stable by Sikh army.

Work / Services:

- Influenced thousands of Muslims on his way to Arabia, 1821; urged them for Jihad.
- 1823, returned from Arabia, ready for Jihad; raised a team of volunteer fighters, Mujahideen.
- Extensive tours of Punjab, NWFP/KPK (then part of Punjab), Sindh, Rajasthan, even Afghanistan
- 1826, headquarters near Peshawar; ultimatum to Ranjit Singh to grant liberty to Muslims; Ranjit dismissed it, 1st fight at Okara; 2nd near Hazro – defeat of Sikhs
- More joined & soon, 80,000 Mujahideen though the troops disagreed on many issues due to varying cultural backgrounds.
- Unanimously declared as the Imam (leader), 1827; got religious & political authority to unify the Mujahideen.
- Local Pathan tribal chief, Yar Muhammad Khan, was bribed by Sikhs; began to leak information to Sikhs about SAS; Yar Muhammad tried to assassinate SAS, then deserted him when SAS was about to attack the Attock Fort.
- Shifted headquarter to Panjtrar, Kashmir.
- Sultan Khan, brother of Yar, also turned against SAS; shifted to Balakot in order to liberate Kashmir, Hazara etc.
- Surprise attack by a huge Sikh force in Balakot, 1831
- Defeat & killing of SAS & 1863 by the British.

Importance of work of SAS:

- First example of an armed struggle aimed at liberating Muslims from the tyranny of non-Muslim rule.
- J.M. attempted to achieve religious & spiritual freedom of Muslims; his mission was not about replacing a non-Muslim ruler with some particular Muslim ruler.
- Source of inspiration and unification for Muslims belonging to various sects and creeds & parts of Indian, ready to fight for a common cause.
- J. M. was a fore-runner of Pakistan Movement; both were aimed at liberating the Muslim majority areas of India from the Non-Muslim rule.

Reasons for the failure of Jihad Movement:

- Loss of local support; Syed's army was maintained & accommodated by Pathan tribes but soon the tribal chiefs were bribed by Sikhs; they withdraw support for Mujahideen.
- Lack of a professional army; Mujahideen were mainly volunteers from various walks of life, e.g., teachers, students & scholars against a skilled army of Sikhs; difficult to continue fight for a longer period.
- Differences among Mujahideen due to sectarian differences; SAS exerted energies to keep them united for a common cause; Sikhs exploited the situation of these differences in order to weaken the spirit of J.M.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi (SASB) (1786-1831)

Q. Who was Syed Ahmed Shaheed? [4]

Ans.

He was born in 1786 in Rae Bareli near Lucknow. He studied in Madrassa-i-Rahimiya and was influenced by the teachings of Shah Wali Ullah's sons. He served in the army of Amir Khan and thus acquired military training. He decided to wage Jihad against the Sikh rule in Punjab. After his return from Arabia, he raised an army of Mujahidin, and founded the Jihad Movement. After his initial successes in the 1820s, he was defeated and killed by the Sikh army in the battle of Balakot in 1831.

Q. Describe the Jihad Movement. [4]

Ans.

It was founded by Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi (SASB) to liberate the Muslims of Punjab from the tyranny of the Sikh ruler Raja Ranjit Singh. The Raja had denied Muslims any kind of religious liberty and humiliated them. SASB raised an army of volunteers Mujahideen and defeated the Sikh forces in a number of battles from 1826 to 1830. Later, his Pathan tribal supporters like Yar Muhammad Khan betrayed him and he was killed in Battle of Balakot near Abbotabad in 1831. The movement was continued till the 1860's.

Q. Why did SASB start his Jihad Movement?

(7)

Ans.

He wanted to revive Islam in India by armed struggle, Jihad. He could see the British establishing their rule over various parts of India as a result of which Muslims were fast losing their dominant position and importance in India. The EIC had annexed the important Muslim majority province of Bengal and the neighbouring north-eastern Indian territories and was advancing towards the north-western Muslim majority province. He thought that Muslims could achieve freedom by waging Jihad/armed struggle against the non-Muslims.

Being a man of action he could act as a strong leader to work against British power in India and to struggle to restore the Muslim rule over various Indian territories. He believed that there was a need to eliminate the evils that were corrupting the beliefs and practices of the Indian Muslims as a result of growing non-Muslim influence during the 19th century.

SASB could see the British policy of restricting the powers of the Mughal Emperors and strengthening the non-Muslims in various parts of India. For example, the Punjab was a Muslim majority province but was ruled by the non-Muslim minority of Sikhs. The ruler, Raja Ranjit Singh was very hostile towards Muslims. They could not deliver Azan and, therefore, found it difficult to offer prayer in congregation. The Badshahi Mosque of Lahore was denied to Muslims and used as a stable by the Sikh forces. Muslims had to undergo many other similar humiliations. He, therefore, founded the Jihad Movement against the Sikh ruler of Punjab and began to defeat the Sikh forces 1826 onwards with the help of Pathan tribal chiefs.

Haji Shariat Ullah (1781-1840)

Introduction:

- Born 1781, Faridpur, E.Bengal, in a poor family.
- Witnessed plight of poor Bengali Muslim farmers under Brit rule, being exploited by rich Hindu zamindars (land owners).
- 1799, left for Arabia for pilgrimage.
- Was influenced by the teachings of Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab (founder of the Wahabi Movement, aimed at achieving puritanical Islam).
- 20 years in Arabia; decided a mission for Bengali Muslims
- Started the F.M. (Faraizi Movement); asked Muslims to perform religious duties (Faraiz) in order to improve their socio-economic & religious conditions.
- Died 1840; F.M. was continued by his son, Mohsinud Din till 1857.

Beliefs / Reasons for starting F.M.:

- F.M. was launched to counter both the Brit & the Hindu zamindars (land owner class) as both were seen by HSU as anti-Muslim; 1750 onwards, Brit got political power & Hindus gained economic prosperity, leaving Muslims as poor farmers.
- HSU believed to declare Bengal as Dar-ul-Harb (land under enemy rule where Friday & 'Eid prayers couldn't be offered till the Muslims got victory); he tried to mobilize Muslims against Brit & Hindus.
- He believed Jihad was needed to achieve the desired goal of improving the poor condition of Muslims of Bengal.
- He linked poor conditions of Muslims with their neglect of the Faraizi (religious obligations); he believed, by observing Faraizi, Muslims could bring about a good change in their daily living & get rid of the un-Islamic beliefs & practices they had adopted under the Hindu influence.

Haji Shariat Ullah (1781-1840)

Work / details of the F.M.:

- Urged Muslims to observe religious duties (Faraiz), repent on the past sins & start a new life of piety & obedience to God.
- Began to mobilize Muslims to rise for their welfare.
- Local authorities were soon alarmed on seeing Bengali Muslims being influenced by F.M; HSU was forced to leave for Nawabganj, Dhakka; died 1840.
- His son, Mohsinud Din continued F.M. more efficiently: (1) divided E. Bengal into various circles, each under his deputy / Khalifa (2) asked Muslim peasants to oppose undue taxes imposed by the Brit & Hindus. (3) caused unrest in Bengal; threatened to wage Jihad.
- Was arrested; died 1860; F.M. gradually declined.

Importance of his work / F.M.:

- Gave hope & courage to the demoralized & oppressed Muslims of Bengal so that they could think about improving their position.
- Caused spiritual revival among Bengali Muslims; they began to abandon the un-Islamic beliefs, practices & superstitions.
- Political awakening among Bengali Muslims; they began to unite against the tyranny of Hindu zamindars & oppressive policies of the Brit; they began to think of ways of improving their economic position in the challenging circumstances; in later years, such feelings would mature into organized political activity ----- evolution of F.M. of the 19th century into the Pak Movement of the 20th century.

Haji Shariat Ullah (1781-1840)

Q. Who was Haji Shariat Ullah? [4]

Ans.

He was born in 1781 in Faridpur district in East Bengal (Bangladesh). He spent many years in Arabia, and was influenced by teachings of Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab. On his return, he started the Faraizi Movement. He urged them to fulfill the religious obligations/Faraiz so that they could hope to improve their religious and socio-economic conditions. He died in 1840 and his mission was continued by his son Mohsin-ud-Din alias Dadu Mian.

Q. What was the Faraizi Movement? [4]

Ans.

It was started by Haji Shariat Ullah in East Bengal. The Bengali Muslims lived a hard life under the oppressive Hindu Zamindars and the British. He advised Muslims to fulfill their religious obligations/Faraiz so that they could restore their past pride. He emphasized on praying for past sins and leading a righteous life in the future. After his death in 1840, the movement was continued by his son Mohsin-ud-Din/Dadu Mian.

Q. Who were Zamindars? [4]

Ans.

It is the Urdu word for rich land owners who often acted as tax collectors too. After Aurangzeb's death they gradually became autonomous refusing to send taxes to the central government, and kept their own armies. Muslims were usually oppressed by the Zamindars from 1800 onwards, especially in East Bengal. They imposed a special tax on Muslim men who kept a beard. Haji Shariat Ullah and Titu Mir tried to organize poor Muslims against them.

Note: He is part of the question on "Indian Resistance".

Q. Who was Titu Mir? [4]

Ans.

He was a Muslim reformer and disciple of Syed Ahmed Shaheed. His real name was Mir Nisar Ali and he worked for the revival of Islam in West Bengal during the 1800's. He was worried over the miserable condition of Bengali Muslims living under the oppressive rule of the British and the Hindu Zamindars. A tax was imposed on Muslims on keeping beard. Titu Mir established his own rule in Narkelbaria, near Calcutta and raised his own army. British defeated and killed him in a battle in 1831.

Q. Why did Haji Shariat Ullah (HSU) start his Faraizi Movement? (7)

Ans. He wanted Muslims to observe religious obligations/Faraiz. He believed that due to the growing non-Muslim influence in various parts of India, Muslims had moved away from the genuine teachings of Islam. Therefore, he wanted them to return to the Islamic teachings. For this, he instructed the poor Bengali Muslims to fulfill their religious duties or Faraiz as a result of which they could hope an improvement in their miserable condition.

Bengali Muslims suffered a lot under the dual oppression of the British and the rich and powerful Hindu land owners/Zamindars who were a beneficiary of the British rulers. HSU believed that such a scenario demanded India to be declared Dar-ul-Harb (literally the battle field meaning thereby a land under non-Muslim rule till it is liberated and becomes Dar-ul-Islam). In such a land the Friday and Eid congregational prayers could not be offered till its liberation.

In a way HSU supported the idea of Jihad against the non-Muslims (Hindus and British) who were undermining the true principles of Islam through their oppressive and coercive policies. Bengali Muslims were restricted to ordinary jobs like workers on a farm, and they were given few opportunities in education and employment. Amidst these circumstances, HSU thought it important to launch his Faraizi Movement.

Q: Why were there attempts for the revival of Islam in India during 18th and 19th centuries? (7)

Ans: Three reformers were worried about the Indian Muslims. Shah Wali Ullah believed that the main reason for the decline of Muslims was their negligence of the teachings of Quran and Sunnah. He translated the Quran into Persian, the court language at that time. This way, more Muslims could understand and follow the Quranic teachings. He also believed Muslims needed to be united and avoid sectarian divide in order to ensure their survival. He worked for the Sunni-Shi'a unity, and for this wrote biographies of the four caliphs acceptable to both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims, "Izala tul Khifa".

Syed Ahmed Shaheed believed that Jihad was needed to liberate Muslims of Punjab from the tyrant Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh who treated Muslims with humiliation. In Punjab, Azan was banned and the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore was used as a stable by the Sikh army as a token of disregard for the religious beliefs and practices of Muslims. Therefore, Syed Ahmad Shaheed raised an army of around 80,000 Mujahideen and founded the Jihad Movement against the oppressive Sikh rule in Punjab.

Haji Shari'at Ullah believed that Muslims of Bengal were suffering because of their neglect of the Faraiz (religious obligations). Bengali Muslims were generally poor and backward due to the dominance of the British in the region since 1757. Haji Shari'at Ullah wanted to improve their socio-economic conditions and create political awareness among them. In order to do so, he believed that they needed to fulfill their Faraiz, the daily prayers, the fast of Ramadan etc. Only then they could improve their miserable condition while living under the British rule and the rich Hindu zamindars/rich landowners. So, he started his Faraizi Movement in East Bengal to create awareness among the poor Bengali Muslims and unite them for the common cause of improving their religious and socioeconomic conditions.

Q.3 Which of the following was the most important in the spread of Islam during the seventeenth and 18th century:-

- 1)Shah Wali Ullah**
- 2)Syed Shaheed Brailvi**
- 3)Haji Shariat Ullah**

OR

Q) How important was Shah Wali Ullah in the spread of Islam in the sub-continent before 1850? Explain your answer.

OR

Q) Was the work of Shah Wali Ullah the most important factor in the revival of Islam in the sub-continent during the 17th and 18th century? Give reasons for your answer.

OR

Q) Was the work of Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brailvi the most important factor in the revival of Islam in the sub-continent during the 17th and 18th centuries? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans: Shah Wali Ullah was a great scholar and reformer. He belonged to a scholarly family. He was educated at Madrasa-i-Rahimiya that was founded by his father. He was worried about the declining Mughal rule and the deteriorating socio-economic and political conditions of Indian Muslims. He analyzed the reasons for the poor condition of the Muslims. Muslims had started forgetting the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah and were divided into various sects. He spent many years in Arabia and returned with a clear vision to revive Islam in India. He translated the Holy Quran into the court language Persian so that many Muslims could understand and follow its teachings. He wrote several books in Persian and Arabic. His most remarkable book is Hujjat Ullah al Baligha. In another book Izalatul Khafa'an Khilafatul Khulafa (Removal of Ambiguity about the Caliphate of the early Caliphs) he wrote the biographies of the four successors of the Prophet in a way acceptable to Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. In order to eliminate the Marathan threat to the Mughal rule he invited Ahmad Shah Abadali from Afghanistan who defeated the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat, 1761. His mission was continued by his four scholarly sons and several followers. Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brailvi was dismayed at the fast decline of the Mughal Empire and the growing influence of non-Muslim forces. He believed that, under a policy, Muslims were being kept weaker than the Hindus and Sikhs. Being inspired by the teaching and sons of SWU, he decided to wage Jihad (armed struggle), to liberate Indian Muslims from the non-Muslim rule. He was especially worried about the Punjabi Muslims who led a miserable life under the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. They were subjected to several humiliations and were denied religious liberty. Azan was banned and the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore was used as a stable by the Sikh forces. After returning from Arabia, SASB raised a huge army of volunteer Mujahideen and shifted to the NWF where he was supported by the Pathan tribes against Sikhs. Under his Jihad movement he defeated the Sikh forces in various battles till 1830. Finally, due to the betrayal of the Pathan chiefs, and sectarian divide in his army he was defeated and killed by the Sikhs in the battle of Balakot in 1831. He gave courage to the Indian Muslims by inculcating the idea of physical struggle for their survival. Jihad movement was continued till the 1860s. It is considered to be the forerunner of the Pakistan Movement as both were aimed at liberating the Muslim majority areas from the non Muslim rule.

Haji Shari'at Ullah was a reformer from East Bengal. He was very much worried about the pitiable condition of Bengali Muslims. They suffered a lot under the British rule and the powerful Hindu Zamindars. He believed that the main reason of the poor condition of Bengali Muslims was their negligence of religious obligations or Faraiz. He launched his Faraizi movement that was aimed at urging the Muslims to perform their Faraiz. He declared Bengal as Dar-ul-Harb (land under enemy rule) and also believed in the need of Jihad. Noticed by the local authorities he had to go back to his native town where he died in 1840. His movement was continued by his son Mohsinud Din popularly known as Dadu Mian.

It may be concluded that the work of SWU was most important because his mission was not restricted to selected parts of India. Also he left behind him a living legacy in the form of his books and followers. Above all, he is the trend setter of the noble tradition of translation of the Holy Quran.

Source Based Questions:

Source A: a statement of Shah Wali Ullah,

"It took many years to cleanse Arabia of its "false idols." It will take many more to cleanse Islam of its new false idols— sectarianism, bigotry, fanaticism and ignorance— worshiped by those who have replaced Prophet Muhammad's (pbuh) original vision of tolerance and unity with their own ideals of hatred and discord. But the cleansing is inevitable, and the tide of reform cannot be stopped."

Q.(a) With the help of source A describe the mission of Shah Wali Ullah.

[3]

Ans.

Shah Wali Ullah is expressing his resolve to eradicate the new false idols of sectarian divide and ignorance among Indian Muslims. These, according to him, are the modernized version of idols worshipped in the times of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). He wants to restore the original vision of tolerance and unity preached by the Holy Prophet.

Q. (a)

Source B: a portrait of Shah Wali Ullah



Q. (b) What does source B tell us about Shah Wali Ullah?

[5]

Ans.

The source shows Shah Wali Ullah dressed in an Arab Islamic outfit, a gown worn over a traditional Kurta. This reflects his attachment with Islamic traditions and culture. This also reflects his mission to convince the Muslims to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet. He seems lost in thoughts perhaps planning his writing in view of the declining condition of the Muslims in India. There are many voluminous books spread on his study table that shows his keen interest in reading and writing. The manuscript before him looks to be an incompletely written work. Shah Wali Ullah would leave a huge team of his followers and books as a legacy of his mission.

Source A: a description of Haji Shariat Ullah's mission about the poor Bengali Muslims,

"While travelling extensively in Bengal, he saw the woes of Muslim peasants and artisans inhumanly exploited by the Hindu Zamindars and Mahajans/money lenders. This led to his commitment to liberate the people from these problems through the path of revolution. He garnered support from farmers, artisans and the people from different classes. He successfully launched a campaign called the Faraizi Movement."

Q. (a) [3]

Ans.

Haji Shariat Ullah was moved by the pitiable condition of Muslim peasants and artisans. He was worried about their inhuman exploitation by the rich Hindu Zamindars and money lenders. He sought support of farmers and other people, and founded his Faraizi Movement.

Source B: the poor Bengali family of East Bengal.



Q. (b) What does source B tell us about the ambitions of Haji Shariat Ullah during the 19th century in East Bengal? [5]

Ans.

The source shows the actor playing the role of Haji Shariat Ullah. The red turban on the head of Haji Shariat Ullah conveys a meaningful message. It represents his aim of bringing about a revolutionary change in the lives of Bengali Muslims. The firm determination on his face reflects his resolve to resist any oppressors exploiting the poor Bengali Muslims peasants. He is being warned perhaps by a soldier of the British standing behind him. This means the local authorities have taken notice of Haji Shariat Ullah's efforts of creating

awareness among Bengali Muslims. In the backdrop another British official is riding a horse, while next to him a Hindu, probably a Zamindar, is standing with a worried look. Haji Shariat Ullah's mission laid the foundation of political awareness among Bengali Muslims.

Source A: a statement of Syed Ahmed Shaheed Bareilvi

Q. (a) According to Source A, what are the the feelings of SASB about the Sikhs of Punjab? [3]

Ans:

Syed Ahmed's real objective is an armed Jihad against the Sikhs of Punjab. He describes the Sikhs by referring to their long, unshaven hair who are very experienced, clever and deceitful. They are ill natured as well as ill fated pagans who have become rulers of western parts of India.

Source B: a scene of the battle of Balakovo, May 1831.



Q: Describe the scene of the battlefield.

[5]

Ans.

The battle is being fought in the hilly area of Balakot near Abbotabad. The army of the Mujahideen seems to have been ambushed and taken by surprise. To make their attack decisive, the Sikh forces of Ranjeet Singh have burnt the hastily built huts of the Mujahideen. The attack of the Sikh army coupled with a much larger number of troops has put the Mujahideen on the defensive. Most of them have fallen on the ground making it easier for their enemies to overpower them. The professionally trained Sikh troops, riding on their horses, therefore, are able to defeat the Mujahideen and kill their leader Syed Ahmad Shaheed Bareilvi. Despite this the Jihad Movement would become a forerunner of Pakistan Movement as both were aimed at liberating the Muslim majority areas from a non-Muslim rule.

The Post-1857 War India and the Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Introduction:

- Respectable family, Delhi
- Career in the legal system, 1838; by hard work, became a judge, 1846.
- Wrote "Athar-al-Sanadeed, 1846
- 1857, chief judge, Bijnaur; saved lives of some European families; refused a reward for that.
- Unpopular among some Muslims for loyalty towards the British.
- Chief justice in Muradabad, Ghazipore.
- 1864, Aligarh; retired in 1876.
- Dedicated to the Aligarh movement/ Muslim 'renaissance' , till his death, 1898.

His Beliefs

- Worried on poor conditions of Muslims
- Deterioration since the days of Mughal decline; worsened with time
- Penalised by the British after the 1857, as most blame was put on Muslims; were denied respectable jobs; other tough measures also.
- Muslims, too, distanced themselves from the Brit, considering them no more than invaders.
- Sir Syed believed the Muslims;
 - (i) Should befriend the Brit, as they were the established rulers of India
 - (ii) Should acquire modern education in order to compete with Hindus, & Improve their socio-economic & political conditions by getting better jobs.
 - (iii) Should not join politics; Hindus were organizing political activities 1870's onwards.

Services / Work of Sir Syed

1. Improving relations b/w Muslims & Brit:

Why:

- To improve socio-economic condition of Muslims, it was vital to make friends with the Brit.
- Brit put all blame of the War on Muslims; considered other Indian communities loyal to them; Brit had replaced Muslim rulers & so, thought it justified to penalize Muslims.
- Muslims generally resented Brit; took them as invaders trying to replace Islam with Christianity; many rejected the Western cultural values considering them as un-Islamic; remained hostile & defiant towards the British.

Details:

(i) Convinced the British by:

- Writing books, articles, pamphlets e.g., “The Loyal Muhammadans of India” (defended the loyalty of Muslims); “Essays on the causes of the Indian Revolt” (analysed the mutiny: insufficient Indian share in govt, forcible conversion of Indians, poor management of army, Brit failure to understand Indian mindset); senior Brit circles read all this; explained the meaning of “Nadarath” to clarify its use: Muslims didn’t use it to insult the Brit; it was derived from the Arabic word “Nasir” (helper); Muslims used the word in a positive, not an insulting way.

(ii) Convinced the Muslims:

- Improved his image as a sincere Muslim by correcting errors in the book of Sir William Muir about the Holy Prophet.
- Highlighted similarities b/w Islam & Christianity to bridge the gap b/w Muslims & Brit; wrote “**Tabayin al Kalam**” (commentary on the Bible); convinced that dining together with Christians was not un-Islamic.
- Founded the “British Indian Association” to improve Anglo-Muslim relations.

Results / Importance:

- Efforts of Sir Syed would bear fruits later
- Success of Simla delegation; Sep electorates for Muslims, 1909 Act.

1. Educational Services:

Why / reasons:

- Muslims not interested in modern Brit education
- Hindus began to excel by acquiring modern education; got better jobs, & improved their image before the Brit, who started using them to counter Muslims; by 1871, 711 Hindus against only 92 Muslims in the govt service.
- Growth of Hindu revivalism (Hindu movement) with increasing number of educated Hindus; they showed little respect towards Muslims.

Details:

- Told Muslims about the Quranic commands to acquire knowledge.
- Issued “Tahzib-ul-AKhlq”, that published articles of Sir Syed & other influential Muslims to bring about a positive intellectual change among Muslims.
- 1863, Scientific Society, Ghazipore; translation of modern scientific writings into Urdu; 1866, a school in Muradabad; 1864, another school, Ghazipore.
- 1869, visited England, observed Oxford & Cambridge – dreamed similar institute for Indian Muslims
- On return, fund raising campaign: May 1875, MAO (Muhammad Anglo Oriental) School, Aligarh; became MAO College, 1876, & University, 1920; offered modern & Islamic education.
- Acted as nursery for many important future leaders
- 1886, Muhammeden Educational Conference (MEF), to improve educational standard of Muslims

Results / Importance:

- Gradual improvement of educational, social & economic status of Muslims
- MAO college became a breeding ground for Muslim leaders, & MEF served as platform for political activity of Muslims
- AIML was founded in its 20th session, 1906.

1. Political Services:

(i) INC politics:

- 1885, INC formed, aimed to convey views of Indians to Brit
- INC claimed to represent all Indians, regardless of religion; in reality, a Hindu-dominated party working for Hindu raj in India
- Sir Syed's advice to Muslims to keep from politics of INC
- It could engage Muslims in agitational politics & damage their relations with Brit.
- INC demanded:
 - a) Joint electorates for the council elections, along democratic pattern of England
Sir Syed opposed this because of numerical majority & better political organization of Hindus
 - b) Competitive examinations for the civil services in India;
Sir Syed opposed this because of visible educational disparity b/w Hindus & Muslims; Hindus might sweep all seats causing further problems for Muslims,
 - c) 1867, Hindus demanded Hindi to be official language replacing Urdu; Sir Syed opposed this because of Arabic / Persian script of Urdu & its association with Muslims; Hindi reflected Hindu aim of ruling India in future
To counter the INC politics, he founded the United Patriotic Alliance – in 1893, it became the Muhammadan Defence Alliance.

Importance / Results:

- Founder of the Two Nation Theory
- Predicted the separation of Hindus & Muslims in future, after the 1867 language controversy, & after the other demands of INC.
- Two Nation theory would gradually become valid & lay basis of the struggle for separate Muslim homeland – the Pakistan Movement.

The Post-1857 War India and the Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

Q: What was the Aligarh Movement?

[4]

Ans:

The efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his colleagues for the collective social economic and political uplift of the Indian Muslims is called the Aligarh Movement. Sir Syed established the MAO School in 1876 which became a college in 1877. This was the nursery for several future Muslim leaders of the Pakistan Movement. His Ghazipore Scientific Society translated the modern English writings into Persian and Urdu.

Q. What was Sir Syed's Two Nation Theory?

[4]

Ans.

Sir Syed's opposition to various Hindu demands became known as his two nation theory. He opposed their demand of replacing Urdu with Hindi, and holding of elections on the basis of joint electorate. He also opposed the idea of competitive examinations for civil services in India. He proposed a quota system in civil services, and separate electorate for Muslims.

Q. What was the Indian National Congress?

[4]

Ans.

It was set up as a political organization founded by Sir A.O. Hume and Sir Henry Cotton in 1885. It claimed to represent all Indians, and convey their concerns to the British. However, since its formation, it was dominated by the Hindu majority. In 1920, under the leadership of Gandhi, it became a more organized political party. Jinnah joined it in 1906, but feeling disappointed by its pro-Hindu agenda, and left it in 1920.

Q. Why did Sir Syed present his Two Nation Theory?

(7)

Ans.

Sir Syed opposed a number of Hindu demands. In 1867, Hindus demanded that Hindi should be declared the official language of India in place of Urdu that enjoyed the same status since 1825. Urdu, written in Persian-Arabic script was one of the marks of cultural identity of Muslims. Hindi, with its Devanagari script, reflected the future plans of Hindu Raj over India. Sir Syed strongly opposed this demand and predicted that in future there might be separation between Hindus and Muslims.

In the 1880's, the Hindu-dominated INC (Indian National Congress) made two more demands that were apparently democratic but in reality against the interest of Muslims. It demanded that elections of the councils in India should be held on the basis of modern Western democracy. Sir Syed countered this demand by saying that Hindus, being a majority, and politically more vibrant, might win election on all seats. He suggested the idea of separate electorates for Muslims.

Finally, he opposed another demand of the Congress that asked for the competitive examinations for the Civil Services in India. He knew that Hindus were far more educated than Muslims and therefore, there was little chance for Muslims to get any seat in the Civil Services. He argued that only when equal educational opportunities were provided to both the communities could such an idea work.

Q. Why did Sir Syed try to improve relations between the Muslims and the British? (7)

Ans. Muslims became the target of the British anger and wrath after the 1857 War. Hindus had very cleverly put the blame on Muslims and it was easier for the British to punish a minority. British had replaced Muslims as the new rulers of India but Muslims still carried a sense of imperial pride due to their glorious past. It was important for them to accept the drastically changed political scenario of India. He also tried to change the British mind in favour of Muslims. For this he wrote two pamphlets: "Essays on the Causes of Indian Revolt" and "Loyal Muhammadans of India".

Sir Syed knew that Muslims could hope for an improved socio-economic status only by making friends with the British who had complete political control of India. If Muslims distanced themselves from the British, they would continue to remain a backward and poor community. By improving relations with the British, Muslims had a better opportunity to get better jobs.

Moreover, Hindus had already started improving their relations with the British because for them it was only a matter of changed rulers. They began to acquire modern British education which most of the Muslims considered un-Islamic. Sir Syed knew that this would cause a growing social and economic disparity between Hindus and Muslims and this would bring more troubles for the Muslims. He wanted Muslims to change their orthodox views about the British and their modern education system.

Q. Why did Sir Syed advise Muslims to acquire Modern British education? (7)

Ans. British had replaced the old Indian education system by their modern education in English. Sir Syed knew that all modern scientific research work was in English, and therefore, English was going to dominate the world. Unless Muslims acquired modern British education, they could not get better jobs, and therefore, could not hope for improving their socio-economic condition. After the War, they had been denied any respectable post in India and this further added to their miseries.

Muslims also lagged behind Hindus in almost all walks of life as the latter had already started equipping themselves with the modern education. Hindus, therefore, were fast becoming prosperous, rich and advanced. They were dominating the post-War India acting in a clever and wise way by accepting the culture and customs of the new rulers. Muslims, therefore, needed to compete with Hindus in order to ensure their survival and dignity in India. Educated Muslims had a better chance of being in the good books of the British who hardly trusted them.

Sir Syed also told Muslims that it was vital to get modern education if they wanted to develop political awareness and insight. Though in the beginning Sir Syed discouraged Muslims from participating in politics, with the emergence of the Hindu-dominated INC and its pro-Hindu policies, he had to change his views. Therefore, he wanted Muslims to beware of the clever policies of the INC and realized that they too had to be political alert and vibrant in the British India.

Q: Was the Two Nation Theory the most important contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan towards the welfare of Muslims? (14)

Ans:

Sir Syed was a great reformer. His views about the possibility of the parting of ways of Hindus and Muslims became known as the Two Nation Theory'. In 1867, he was shocked over the Hindu demand of making Hindi as the official language of India. Being a far-sighted leader, he opposed it as he could sense the Hindu aims about the future political scenario of India. Urdu, written in Persian/Arabic script reflected the past Muslim rule over India. Hindi, with the Devanagari script, on the other hand, represented the Hindu plans of ruling India. He also opposed two more demands of INC in the 1880's: competitive examinations for the civil services and the joint electorate for the elections of the legislative councils. He knew that Muslims, being less educated and politically less organized, would not be able to compete with the Hindus in the examinations and elections. He, therefore, advocated a system of separate electorates for Muslims and a fixed quota for Muslims in the competitive examinations. Sir Syed initially wanted cooperation between Hindus and Muslims but his views soon changed when he realized the INC only claimed to represent all Indian communities whereas in reality it worked mainly for the Hindu interests. In order to protect the political rights of the Muslims he founded the United Patriotic Alliance which was renamed as the Muhammadan Defence Alliance in 1893.

Sir Syed also tried to create awareness among Muslims by convincing them to accept the British as the new rulers of India and so, it was wise to make friends with them. He highlighted the similarities between Islam and Christianity by writing "Taba'yeen-al-Kalam". In another book he proved that it was not un-Islamic to dine with the Christians. He wrote a book in response to Sir William Muir's book "Life of Muhammad" that contained some objectionable remarks about the Holy Prophet.

While convincing Muslims Sir Syed worked to convince British about changing their stance regarding Muslims. He wrote two pamphlets shortly after the War of Independence. In "Essays on the Causes of Indian Revolt" he proved that Indians alone were not responsible for the Revolt but British too were to blame for their failure to understand the Indian mindset. In "Loyal Muhammadans of India" he defended Muslims and proved that they were as loyal to the British as any other community in India. He also explained the word "Nadarath" by proving it was an Anglicised form of the Arabic word "Nasara" (Christians) that was derived from the root word "Nasr" (Help) and thus proved that Muslims did not use the word in a derogatory way.

Sir Syed's educational work was also very important. He wanted to improve social condition of Muslims and to create political awareness among them. For this Muslims needed to acquire modern British education. He set up a series of institutes, issued magazines and wrote books. In 1859 he opened a school in Mura da bad, another school in Ghazipore in 1864 where he had founded the Ghazipore Scientific Society in 1863. In it modern scientific writings of the West were translated into Persian and Urdu. In 1866, he issued the Aligarh Institute Gazette from Aligarh to encourage Muslims to acquire modern education. He visited England in 1869 and decided to set up an institute for Muslims after observing the Cambridge and Oxford Universities. In 1875, he set up the MAO College, Aligarh where both western and local educations were imparted. This institute produced many prominent leaders like Liaquat Ali Khan and several workers of the Pakistan Movement. In 1886, Muhammadan Educational Conference was established in order to launch a campaign for raising educational standard of Muslims. It held regular meetings in several cities. Articles for the purpose were published in the journal 'Tahzeeb-ul-Akhlaq'.

If viewed objectively, it may be concluded that Sir Syed's Two Nation Theory was his

most important service as it laid the basis of Muslim nationalism that eventually evolved into the Pakistan Movement in the 1940's. ML launched this movement on the ground of inherent differences between Hindus and Muslims that had been predicted by Sir Syed.

Q.(a) According to source A, describe Sir Syed's views about how British should treat the Muslims. (3)

"It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people alone can check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst open and destroy us. I think it's very important that the British authorities should reconsider their views about the Muslim community of India, many of whom had nothing to do with the War."

Ans. Sir Syed is trying to alert the British about the possible undesirable consequences of their policy towards the Muslim community. He sincerely advising them to treat Muslims with justice and earn their support. He is defending Muslims as for him, all of them did not participate in the War, and therefore, many of them deserved British sympathy.

Q.(b) What message does source B, a painting about Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement, convey to us about the aims of Sir Syed and the impact of his views and work? [5]



Ans.

The painting shows an impressed audience, clad in the Western dress, attentively listening to Sir Syed. In the backdrop a mosque has been shown in the neighbourhood of the Aligarh College. This means that Sir Syed wants Muslims to acquire both Islamic and modern sciences because acquisition of knowledge has been declared a fundamental duty of all Muslims. Sir Syed, this way, is trying to draw the attention of the backward Muslim community towards the importance of the changed circumstances in India. This reflects his sincerity for the fellow Muslims whom he wishes to compete with other Indians. Sir Syed's Ali Garh College would become a university after his death, and it would produce prominent leaders of the Pakistan Movement.

Languages Of Pakistan

Why Urdu as the national language?

- Long association with the Muslims of the Sub-continent; period of the Sultans of Dehli to the Mughal rule ; Court language
- Muslim armies used it to bring closer people of different areas & languages, esp in the NW India where it fully developed.
- Rich literary background from 13th century onward; poetry, prose, translation of the Quran, other religious writings famous poets, writers e.g. Amir Khusrau, Mir, Ghalib, Bahadur Shah Zafar; also form the Aligarh University e.g., Hasrat Mohani, Sir Syed and his fellows e.g. Hali, Shibli.
- Basis of the Two Nation theory since 1867; included in the aims of AIML; role of Urdu press in the Pakistan Movement (1940-47).
- To promote national unity in a newly created country where there are many regional languages & dialects; to act as a bridging language.

Efforts of the govt to promote Urdu

- Declared as the national language after independence
- The 1973 constitution mentions to make it the official language
- Medium of education in most institutes e.g. primary & higher levels.
- Role of newspapers, radio, TV, novels, magazines, poetry etc.
- Special institutes e.g. NUML (National University of Modern Languages), Urdu Law College, Urdu Science College in Karachi
- Awards on best writings e.g. civil awards: Baba-i-Urdu Award, Hijra Award etc.

Regional Languages

1. Punjabi:

Why develop it :

- Language of the largest & most important province of Pakistan, with its dialects in other parts of Pak e.g., Hindko, Seraiki, Riasti , Derawali etc.
- Rich history & background with major names & writings; Waris Shah. Sultan Bahu, Baba Farid, Bulleh Shah; folk romances; Heer Ranjha, Sohni, Mahinwal, Sassi Punnu, Mirza , Sahiban etc; reflect culture of Punjab.
- Several Sufi poets e.g. Sultan Bahu, Gulram Farid composed Sufi poetry e.g. by 'Kafis'
- Persian script from the old Gurmukhi script.
- 20th century; further growth with novels, short stories & plays by major writers & poets e.g. Ustad Daman, Munir Niazi, Muhammad Ali Faiz (translated the Quran into Punjabi).

Govt efforts to promote Punjabi:

- Introduction at various levels of education e.g. secondary school to M.A & Ph.D with research work on language & literature.
- Govt encouraged writers & poets e.g. Munir Niazi, Ahmad Rahi, Sharif Kunjahi; awards & prizes
- Punjabi as optional subject for provincial & central competitive exams.
- Magazines, radio, TV (Lahore stations) ,research work, plays
- “Mahi-i-Nau” & “Adabiyat” regularly publish translation of Punjabi writings.
- Recitation of Sufi poetry on religious festivals & shrines of Sufis in Punjab.

2. Sindhi :

Why develop Sindhi?

- Language of the 2nd most populated province, with rich vocabulary & literary background
- Linked with arrival of Islam in the 8th century; strongly influenced by Arabic; change of script from Arz-i-Nagri & Marwari to the Arabic script.
- Huge literature of Sufi writings & love tragedies; big names e.g. Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, Sachal Sarmast, Makhdum Nuh & Qazi Qazan.
- 1947, exodus of educated Sindhi Hindus & arrival of Urdu-speaking Muslims; fear among local Sindhis about their language.

Govt efforts to promote Sindhi:

- Special bodies e.g. the Sindhi Literary Board, 1948; Bazm-i-Talib-ul-Maula, 1954; the Sarmast Academy & the Department of Sindiology in the Sindh University, Jamshoro.
- 1972 , Sindhi, with Urdu, national language of Sindh.
- Greater number of newspapers than any other regional language.
- Several magazines, novels, plays on radio & TV (Karachi centre) , short stories and research work.
- Urdu magazines, “Mah-i-Nau” & “Adabiyat” publish Urdu versions of Sindhi writings.
- Awards & prizes to best writers e.g. Sheikh Ayaz , Amar Jalil etc.

3. Pushto :

Why develop Pushto language?

- Language of the 3rd major province, located at strategic position ; Pak-Afghan border.
- Rich background with writings on Sufism, patriotism & Pushto nationalism, eg., Bayazid Ansari’s “ Khayr-ul-Bayan” on Sufism, Hazrat Mian Umar’s work on Pushto freedom & nationalism, & later, the work of Khushal khan Khattak & Rahman Baba.
- Role of Pushto in resistance against the British rule & struggle for freedom; role of Sahibzada Abdul Qayum as founder of the Islamia College Peshawar; centre of political awareness and activity.
- To raise confidence of the people of a smaller province.

Govt's efforts to promote Pushto

- 1950, Peshawar University; 1954, an academy for Pushto
- Later, 1st Pushto dictionary.
- Post-graduate classes for Pushto in the Peshawar University.
- Abaseen Arts Council for Pushto drama
- Peshawar radio & TV stations; news, music, plays, documentaries.
- Awards for best writings & research work.
- Urdu translations of Pushto writings in "Mah-i-Nau" & "Adabiyat".

4. Balochi :

Why develop Balochi language?

- Language of the largest province, area-wise, but smallest in terms of population.
- Least developed of all the regional languages; important to reassure people of Balochistan regarding the promotion of their language.
- Few books etc. in Balochi before 1947 with few poets e.g. Jam Darang.
- To acknowledge role of Balochi people for their vote of referendum in favour of Pakistan.

Govt's efforts to promote Balochi

- Karachi TV & radio to promote Balochi before the establishment of Quetta TV centre
- Balochi programs by Quetta TV, e.g, news, plays, music, talk shows
- Balochi Literary Association; newspapers and magazines
- Encouragement of such poets & writers as Atta Shad, Gul Khan Nazir & others
- Urdu translation of Balochi prose & poetry by:
"Mah-i-Nau" & "Adabiyat", published by the Federal Ministry of Information.

Q: Why was Urdu chosen as the national language in 1947? [7]

Ans:

One of the reasons of choosing Urdu as the national language was its long history of affiliation with the Muslim community of India. It grew tremendously during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) when poets like Amir Khusrau and Wali Dakani composed Urdu poetry. Later, during the Mughal period (1526-1857) it was patronized by the Mughal kings and eventually it became the court language. During this period, poets like Mir Taqi Mir, Ghalib, Momin and Bahadur Shah Zafar greatly enriched Urdu poetry.

Urdu has a rich literary background with voluminous writings both in prose and poetry. Three great poets, Mir, Ghalib and Iqbal composed world class poetry while during the 19th century Urdu prose also began to flourish with the first Urdu novels written by Sharar and Mirza Hadi Ruswa became popular. At the same time Urdu religious stock also grew when translations of and commentaries on the Quran were written in addition to translation of the Hadith literature and the Islamic law. Sir Syed's Aligarh Movement also contributed to the development of Urdu.

Pakistan has a culturally diversified landscape with four major regional languages with several other small languages. In such a country one common language was thought to be a source of promoting a sense belonging to one nation. This way Urdu could serve as a uniting force between several cultural communities living in Pakistan. Therefore, Jinnah declared it the national language of Pakistan in 1947.

Q. Urdu was chosen as national language mainly to promote national unity. Do you agree or disagree? Explain. (14)

Ans. Urdu remains the most popular language in Pakistan. Being a newly created state, Pakistan needed to inculcate a strong sense of nationalism among its people. Language has always been a strong and effective tool in promoting patriotism in any part of the world. Jinnah was, therefore, advised to follow the policy of "One Nation One Language". By speaking the same language people of Pakistan were expected to develop a feeling of belonging to one nation, though Bengali in East Pakistan was also a major language. It was thought to bridge the provincial and regional gaps in a country with diversified linguistic heritage. Thus, people living in various provinces and areas could be linked to each other by a 'lingua franca' (popularly spoken language).

However, there were other important considerations too. Out of all the regional languages Urdu was the most developed language with a strong and rich literary background. In its journey of evolution many Urdu novels, short stories, essays, religious and non-religious writings had become popular much before the creation of Pakistan. Urdu is among those few languages that have as many as three great poets: Mir Taqi Mir, Ghalib and Iqbal. Translations of the Quran, Hadith, biography of the Holy Prophet and Islamic jurisprudence further enriched the Urdu literature. So, it was easier to adopt such a highly developed language as the national language.

Urdu had a history of long association with the Indian Muslims. Its Persian/Arabic script reflects that it remained more popular among the Muslims of India. During the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526), such major poets as Amir Khusrau (1253-1325), Quli Qutub Shah and Wali Deccani all composed high quality Urdu verse. Then, during the Mughal rule it was greatly patronized by the Mughal Court. With the passage of time, it began to replace Persian. During the 18th and 19th centuries several Urdu poets became prominent like Mir Dard, Sauda, Momin, Zauq, and the last Mughal king Bahadur Shah Zafar. The Aligarh Movement produced many good poets and writers like Hali and Shibli.

Another important reason was Urdu's close association with the Pakistan Movement. Sir Syed had defended Urdu as the cultural identity of Muslims when Hindus in 1867, demanded that Hindi should be made the official language of India. When Muslim League was formed in 1906, its objectives also included protection and promotion of Urdu. In the 1930's the Muslim League began to consider that Urdu as its official language. In 1937, the Muslim League to make all efforts possible to make Urdu their official language. Later in the 1940's Urdu newspapers highlighted the cause of the Pakistan Movement and the activities of its leaders.

It may be concluded that Urdu was declared as the national language primarily to foster a sense of national unity because language is one of the strongest marks of cultural identity of any nation, and since the creation of Pakistan was a new experience for its people, they needed to realise that they had their own distinct identity as a nation.

Q: How has the Pakistan government promoted the development of Urdu between 1947 and 1999? [4]

Ans.

Urdu was declared as the national language of Pakistan. It was made the medium of education in educational institutes of the public and private sector. Special awards were offered to the best writings in prose and poetry by the government. Most of the programs, plays and news are broadcast on radio and TV in Urdu. Federal Ministry of Information has been issuing the monthly "Mah-i-Nau" from Lahore, and a quarterly "Adabiyat" is issued by the Academy of Letters, Islamabad.

Q: Why have regional languages been promoted by the Pakistani government between 1947 and 1999? (7)

Ans. Regional languages form the basis of cultural identity of Pakistan along with Urdu. With the declaration of Urdu as the national language, government decided to promote regional languages, too. Sindhi, among all regional languages, was the first to have adopted the Arabic script. This reflects its close association with Islam. Several sufi poets, such as Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai and Sachal Sarmast wrote Sindhi verse. Therefore, it was important to promote it. After 1947, many institutes were set up to promote Sindhi. They include Sachal Sarmast Academy and the Department of Sindiology in the University of Sindh.

Pashto is spoken in Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa (former NWFP) and its literature carries a strong element of resistance against the foreign rule. Such an element of resistance is quite visible in the poetry of Khushhal Khan Khattak and Rehman Baba. This way Pashto became associated with the Pakistan movement. Therefore, after independence, Islamia College Peshawar and University of Peshawar contributed to the development of Pashto.

Balochi is spoken in the largest province in terms of its area but the least populated province. It had traditionally been underdeveloped due to a lack of its preservation in written form. Also, the people of Balochistan had to be assured of their significance as a cultural unit of Pakistan and so, it had to be promoted. For many years after independence, Radio Pakistan Karachi, and later PTV Karachi began to broadcast Balochi programmes. In the early 1970s, PTV Quetta started to promote Balochi.

Q: How has the Pakistan government promoted the development of Punjabi since 1947 (1947-1999)? [4]

Ans.

Punjabi is offered as an optional subject at the college and university level as well as in the competitive examinations. University of the Punjab has been encouraging research work on Punjabi language and literature. Government has supported poets and writers like Munir Niazi, Dr Anwar Sadeed, Habib Jalib and Ustad Daman for their work. PTV and Radio Pakistan, Lahore have been broadcasting Punjabi plays and other programs for the promotion of Punjabi.

Q: How has Pakistan promoted the development of Sindhi since 1947 (1947-1999)? [4]

Ans.

Government set up Sindhi Literary Board in 1948, "Bazm-i-Talib-ul-Maula" in 1954, and later, Sachal Sarmast Academy. A department of Sindhology was set up in the Sindh University, Jamshoro to encourage research on Sindhi language and literature. Under the 1972 Language Bill, Sindhi and Urdu were declared the national languages of Sindh. Radio stations of Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur, and PTV Karachi have been broadcasting programs in Sindhi.

Q: How has Pakistan promoted the development of Pashto since 1947 (1947-1999)? [4]

Ans.

Pashto was promoted by the Peshawar University, and the Academy of Pashto that was established in 1954. This institute under the chairmanship of Maulana Abdul Qadir took great pains to compile the first Pashto dictionary. Pashto is taught at college and university level, and post graduate classes are held in Peshawar University. Radio Pakistan Peshawar and PTV Peshawar broadcast a variety of programs in Pashto. Abasin Arts Council has been promoting Pashto theatre.

Q: How has the Pakistan government promoted the development of Balochi since 1947 (1947-1999)? [4]

Ans.

Radio Pakistan Karachi, and later, PTV Karachi broadcasted programs in Balochi after independence. After the establishment of PTV Quetta, many more programs began to be telecasted. Baloch Literary Association was set up for the same purpose. Newspapers like "Awaam" and some weekly and monthly magazines like "Omaan", "Sangat" and "Mahatak" were issued in Balochi. Government has patronized prominent poets and writers in Balochi that include Atta Shad, Ishaq Shamim, Gul Khan Nazir and Azad Jamal Din.

Q: Promotion of Urdu was more important/successful than promotion of the regional languages of Pakistan between 1947 and 1999. Do you agree or disagree? Explain. (14)

Ans. The Quaid-i-Azam declared Urdu as the national language soon after independence. Urdu had been closely associated with the Muslims for centuries and became one of the foundational pillars of the Pakistan movement in later years. Government took many steps to promote it. The 1973 Constitution pledges to make it the official language, too. Government patronized it by encouraging prominent poets like Faiz, Faraz, Munir Niazi and Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi who were given various awards. Baba-i-Urdu Award, Adamjee Award, Hijra Award and the Prime Minister's Award were introduced for this purpose. Urdu was declared as the medium of education in all public sector schools and a compulsory subject in private sector institutes.

However, regional languages were also promoted. Punjabi is spoken in the largest province, Punjab. It has a rich literary stock with such 'sufi' (saintly) poets as Waris Shah, Baba Farid and Bulleh Shah. Punjabi played important role in the Pakistan movement. It was introduced as an optional subject in colleges. Research activities were conducted in the University of Punjab. Prominent poets and writers were encouraged, for example, Habib Jalib, Munir Niazi, Ahmed Rahi and others by giving them awards on their writings. Some Punjabi newspapers were issued from Lahore, like the Daily Sajjan, in the 1980's.

Sindhi is the language of Sindh, the second largest province. Its literature is closely linked with Islam as it is the first regional language that had adopted the Arabic script due to the arrival of Arab Muslims in Sindh in 712 AD. Its literary treasure comprised such poet as Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai and Sachal Sarmast. Government took many steps to promote it. The Department of Sindiology was set up in the University of Hyderabad. Other bodies include Bazm-i-Talib ul Maula, Sachal Sarmast Academy and the Sindhi Literary Board. Under the Language Bill of 1972, Z.A. Bhutto declared it the national language of Sindh along with Urdu. Prominent writers such as Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi and G. Alana were given awards.

Pashto is spoken in the province of Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa and its literature contains resistance against foreign rule that is seen in the poetry of Khushhal Khan Khattak and Rahman Baba. After 1947, University of Peshawar and Islamia College Peshawar promoted it. First Pashto dictionary had been compiled a few years later. An academy of promotion of Pashto was set up in 1954. Professor Pareeshan Khattak and Maulana Abdul Qadir played prominent role in its development. Abaseen Arts Council promoted Pashto Theatre.

Balochi is the least developed language of Pakistan as it had its literature in the form of oral traditions. Balochistan is the least developed and least populated province. This also necessitated to promote Balochi language. Initially, University of Karachi and radio and TV centres of Karachi promoted it. Later with the establishment of Quetta TV Centre, this language was promoted by electronic media. Poets and writers like Atta Shad and Gul Khan Nazir also contributed to its promotion. Balochi Literary Association was also created.

It may be concluded that Urdu was promoted the most because the bulk of Urdu writings outweighs those of all regional languages. Moreover, due to the efforts of the government and intellectuals, Urdu is gaining popularity across the globe.

Q: Promotion of Punjabi was more important/successful than promotion of other regional languages of Pakistan between 1947 and 1999. Do you agree or disagree? Explain. (14)

Ans. Punjabi is spoken in the largest province, Punjab. It has a rich literary stock with such 'sufi' (saintly) poets as Waris Shah, Baba Farid and Bulleh Shah. Punjabi played important role in the Pakistan movement. It was introduced as an optional subject in colleges. Research activities were conducted in the University of Punjab. Prominent poets and writers were encouraged, for example, Habib Jalib, Munir Niazi, Ahmed Rahi and others by giving them awards on their writings. Some Punjabi newspapers were issued from Lahore, like the Daily Sajjan, in the 1980's.

Other regional languages were also promoted 1947 onwards. Sindhi is the language of Sindh, the second largest province. Its literature is closely linked with Islam as it is the first regional language that had adopted the Arabic script due to the arrival of Arab Muslims in Sindh in 712 AD. Its literary treasure comprised such poet as Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai and Sachal Sarmast. Government took many steps to promote it. The Department of Sindhiology was set up in the University of Hyderabad. Other bodies include Bazm-i-Talib ul Maula, Sachal Sarmast Academy and the Sindhi Literary Board. Under the Language Bill of 1972, Z.A. Bhutto declared it the national language of Sindh along with Urdu. Prominent writers such as Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi and G. Alana were given awards.

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It may be concluded that Punjabi was promoted the most because with the passage of time Punjabi writers and poets who had been working on Urdu, began to pay serious attention to their mother tongue. As a result several intellectuals got their Ph.D. degrees for their research work in Punjabi.

Section 2

(1900-1947)

Partition Of Bengal

- Largest province, about 85 million population; 54m in the western 42m in the eastern part.
- Too huge to govern; difficult to administer by one governor.
- Hindu majority in west & Muslim majority in east Bengal growing economic & political disparity b/w Hindus & Muslims British thought the partition would benefit Muslims.
- 1870 onwards more & more Hindus demanded freedom from the British; INC leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, delivered impassioned speeches for freedom; British had to restrict such activities by distracting attention of INC from its mission.
- Viceroy Lord Curzon proposed partition of Bengal & implemented it, Oct 1905; E.Bengal to include: Assam, Dhakka, Chittagong & Mymen Singh.

Muslim Reaction

- Felt delighted, expressed thanks to British
- Socio-economic & political position improved their govt & majority in a province began to develop Chittagong port to compete with the Calcutta port.
- Since 1857, for the first time, improved relations with the British.
- ML, 1906, promised loyalty to the British, condemned INC opposition to the partition.

INC / Hindu reaction

- Violence, protests, mourning, strikes, boycott of British goods & institutes.
- Swadeshi movement; British cloth thrown onto bonfire & wearing local cloth, a matter of honour; dramatic drop in sale of British goods.
- Violence more intensified; assassination attempt on British officials e.g. the future Viceroy, Minto.
- Threat of boycott of the coronation ceremony of King George, 1911.
- British used forces to suppress protest e.g. arrest of leaders, restrictions on newspapers, public meetings, the 1908 Press Act, but no use.
- Difficulties grew for the British, they began to review the partition & finally, King George, announced reversal, Dec 1911.

Reasons for INC opposition to the partition

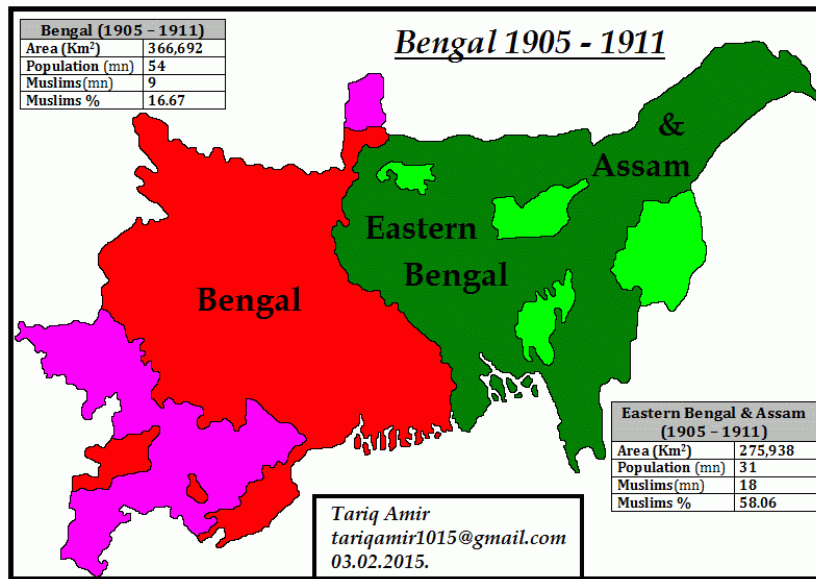
- INC considered it as an exercise of the British policy of “divide and rule”
- A step to weaken the Hindu position by creating a Muslim majority province; INC unhappy over loss of monopoly on economy & politics of Bengal
- For INC, it was aimed at damaging Indian nationalism along religious lines; a Hindu Bengal & a Muslim Bengal.

Reversal of Partition of Bengal

INC reacted sharply and violently to the partition of Bengal. It considered the partition as another example of the British policy of "Divide and Rule" and a step against Indian nationalism. Therefore, protest processions and strikes were organized. Mass rallies were taken out in several parts of India. This created serious administrative difficulties for the British government as pressure on it grew day by day. Events took a dangerous turn when some extremist Hindus adopted terrorist behavior by targeting senior British officials. An attempt was made to assassinate Lord Minto. This threatened the British rule and the government was forced to reconsider its decision.

British goods and institutes were boycotted under the Swadeshi movement. At many places, British factory made cotton cloth was set on fire and people were persuaded to wear locally made clothes. This caused economic problems for the British as the sale of British goods declined dramatically. The British had to use harsh measures to suppress the campaign launched by the INC, but eventually decided to win the support of moderate Hindus. Finally King George V announced the annulment of the partition in December 1911, in his coronation ceremony.

Partition Of Bengal



Q Why was Bengal partitioned in 1905? (7)

Ans. Bengal was the most populated province with a population of more than 80 millions. This huge population was spread over a small area, making it a very densely populated province. It was difficult to govern such a big province as it created problems in maintaining law and order, collection of taxes and providing emergency help in times of floods and cyclones. So, it was sensible to divide it into two provinces. The western part of Bengal had a population of 54 million with a Hindu majority, whereas the eastern part had 31 million inhabitants with a Muslim majority. There was a growing economic disparity between the Hindus and Muslims. Hindus were the dominant community enjoying monopoly over industry, trade and politics. Muslims on the other hand, were generally backward and poor. British perhaps wanted reduce this disparity.

British also closely observed the political activities of the INC in the 1890's when leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak had to be in prison as they delivered provoking speeches in which they demanded self rule for India. Therefore, the British decided to distract the attention of the INC towards a new issue. Accordingly, Lord Curzon, in 1903, advised the British government to divide Bengal along communal lines and so, Bengal was divided in 1905 into a Muslim majority East Bengal and Hindu majority West Bengal.

Q(a) “Bengal was partitioned because of geographical factors”. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans: Bengal was one of the largest provinces of British India with a huge population of more 80 million spread over a small area. It was increasingly becoming difficult to administer such a big and densely populated province by a single a governor. Administrative difficulties included, collection of revenue / taxes, providing relief and rehabilitation to a population repeatedly hit by cyclones and floods, controlling the law and order situation that was gradually deteriorating. Since there had been earlier examples of dividing huge territories like Khandesh and Narbada, the British began to consider partitioning Bengal into two provinces. So in 1903 Viceroy Lord Curzon proposed partition of Bengal into two provinces.

The British were also closely observing the growing disparity between the Hindus and the Muslims. Hindus dominated the politics and economy of Bengal while keeping Muslims underdeveloped and poor. The period 1900-1911 was a period of improved British – Muslim relations. Perhaps British wanted to give Muslims an opportunity to prosper in the newly created province of East Bengal with Assam and three districts Dhaka, Chittagong and Mymensingh where they would be in a majority and hence would be able to form their own government (which exactly happened). The other part, West Bengal, remained a Hindu majority province. Muslims now began to develop a new seaport at Chittagong.

Finally the British were also mindful of the INC demand of self rule in the 1890s. For example, INC leaders like Mr. Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak used to deliver impassioned and provoking speeches to incite the people for pressurizing the government for self rule. Such leaders were arrested and British decided to distract the INC attention from its demand for self rule. Thus when Lord Curzon in October 1905 announced the partition of Bengal, the INC guns were directed against the partition instead of demand for self rule.

To conclude, it may be proved that the major reason for the partition of Bengal was the geographical factor because it is a universal practice to make new and smaller administrative units for the sake of better administration. After the partition it prove to be true because the Muslim community felt great relief and was fully grateful to the British even though the Hindu dominated INC got busy in undoing this wise decision of the British.

Q Why did Congress (INC) oppose the partition of Bengal? (7)

Ans. The INC did not like the partition and opposed it fiercely. For the INC, it was yet another example of the old British policy of “divide and rule”. By doing so the British were strengthening their grip on the Indian political affairs while dividing the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims. The British power lay in the communal differences of India.

The INC also viewed the partitioned as a step against the Indian nationalism. It believed that all people living in India were primarily Indians regardless of the cultural and religious differences and identities. So, all communities living in Bengal were equally Indians whether they were Hindus or Muslims. It viewed the whole country as “mother India” and therefore, condemned the partition of Bengal as a kind of vivisection of their motherland. It declared 16th Oct 1905 as a day of mourning.

The Hindu dominated INC was also unhappy over the loss of monopoly over the economy and politics of Bengal. In East Bengal, Muslims were a decisive majority and had formed their own government. Therefore, their economic condition began to improve. They decided to develop the Chittagong port in order to compete with the Calcutta port of West Bengal. All this scenario was worrying for the INC who launched an aggressive campaign against the British.

Q How did British react to the Hindu protest against the partition of Bengal? (7)

Ans.

The British took many quick measures to deal with the Hindu protest. They placed restrictions on newspapers and public meetings. Between 1906 and 1908 several editors were arrested, tried and imprisoned for writing articles against the British policies. The Press Act of 1908 gave more powers to the government to restrict freedom of expression and media. Between 1905 and 1909 thousands people were arrested and jailed. The Government grants to schools and colleges participating in the Swadeshi Movement were discontinued.

Mr Tilak was arrested in June 1908, and after a speedy trial, was given six years’ imprisonment. Many radical leaders left India in these circumstances as jails were filled with those the British considered as revolutionaries. The British themselves deported many suspects without framing them in a case or conducting a trial against them.

The British got worried over the growing protest by the Hindu-led INC. They realized that use of force against Hindus would not be sufficient. Therefore, they decided to win the support of the moderate Hindus by drafting new constitutional reforms. The Viceroy Lord Minto worked with the Secretary of State of India, John Morley. Finally, the Indian Council’s Act 1909/ the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced to win the support of the Hindu community.

Q Why was partition of Bengal reversed? (7)

Ans. The INC fully pressurized the British government to reconsider the decision of partition. A country-wide anti-partition campaign was launched. Mob rallies were organized and shutter down strikes were observed as a token of resentment against the partition. With the passage of time, the opposition to the partition became fierce and eventually adopted the terrorist behavior. Many senior British officials were

attacked including Lord Minto who survived a murder attempt. This created a serious problem for the British as they found it difficult to run the state affairs effectively.

The INC started the Swadeshi Movement in which boycott of the British goods and institutions was observed. British titles given to the Hindus were returned and the attendance in various institutes dropped significantly. At many places, the British factory made cotton cloth was thrown in the bonfire to mark the hatred against the Videshi/foreign goods. This created serious economic difficulties for the British as the sale of their products sharply declined in the Indian markets.

King George V was scheduled to visit India in 1911. The INC, threatened to boycott the Coronation ceremony of the King that was a royal tradition and a hallmark of British authority over its colonies. This threat of the INC was a serious blow to the pride and prestige of the British who were now pressurized to reconsider the partition. Sir John Jenkins, a member of the Viceroy's executive council, advised the British government to reverse the partition and the King himself announced the reversal in Delhi in 1911. Assam, Bihar and Orissa were separated from reunited Bengal.

Q: 'Partition or reversal?' Were the reasons why Bengal was partitioned in 1905 more important than those regarding its reversal in 1911? Explain your answer. (14)

Ans. Reasons for the partition of Bengal were very important. Bengal was a province with a huge population spread over a small area. There was Hindu majority in the western, and Muslim majority in the eastern part. The British thought it wise to divide Bengal along communal lines in such a way that East Bengal would become a new province with a Muslim majority, and West Bengal with a Hindu majority. Bengal was also divided due to administrative reasons as it was difficult to govern by a single governor. With two governors ruling two provinces, it became easier to collect revenue and to maintain law and order in a highly populated province. As a result of partition, Muslims felt greatly relieved as they became a majority in the newly created province of East Bengal and Assam where they could prosper by making their own government. The partition also affected the Hindu monopoly on trade, economy and politics of Bengal as Muslims began to develop the Chittagong port to compete with the Calcutta port in west Bengal. Hindus, therefore, considered the partition as another example of the British policy of "divide and rule", because it helped British establish their rule over India more firmly. Hindus also believed that partition was aimed at striking at the roots of Indian nationalism and unity. Partition had divided the province into two units with a distinct religious majority in each unit. The INC considered all people living in Bengal only as Bengalis regardless of their religious identity. So, the Hindus reacted violently.

As for the reversal of partition, it mainly came about as a result of the ever growing Hindu pressure on the British. The Hindu-dominated INC organized a country wide anti-partition campaign. Regular protests and strikes were held, and boycott of British goods, titles and institutes was organized on a large scale. They rejected the partition by linking it with the British strategy of dividing Indians into sub-groups and creating communal differences.

The Hindu anger was further reflected in the Swadeshi movement. In this a boycott of British goods was observed. At many places, the British factory made cotton cloth was thrown in the bonfire and this caused a significant drop in the sale of British goods. Gradually, the movement adopted terrorist activities when an attempt was made to assassinate Lord Minto. British goods and institutes were boycotted as a token of protest over the partition. Though the Muslims were assured of the irreversibility of the partition, the circumstances forced the British to reconsider this administrative decision. Pressure grew with time as all these activities were paralyzing the state machinery and there was a visible threat to the British prestige and power in India. The British, therefore, annulled the partition in December 1911 in the Delhi Darbar and the announcement was made by King George V himself.

When analyzed objectively, it can be concluded that the reasons for partition of Bengal were more important because the Muslim community began to develop a sense of "distinct identity" of their own, and also because they were alerted of the possible consequences of a Hindu-dominated India. The partition gave a hint to the Muslims about partition of India along communal lines.

How successful was the 1905 Partition of Bengal? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans.

Bengal was the most populated province with a population of more than 80 million. This huge population was spread over a small area, making it a very densely populated province. It was difficult to govern such a big province as it created problems in maintaining law and order, collection of taxes and providing emergency help in times of floods and cyclones. So, it was sensible to divide it into two provinces.

The western part of Bengal had a population of 54 million with a Hindu majority, whereas the eastern part had 31 million inhabitants with a Muslim majority. There was a growing economic disparity between the Hindus and Muslims. Hindus were the dominant community enjoying monopoly over industry, trade and politics. Muslims on the other hand, were generally backward and poor. British perhaps wanted reduce this disparity.

British also closely observed the political activities of the INC in the 1890's when leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak had to be in prison as they delivered provoking speeches in which they demanded self rule for India. Therefore, the British decided to distract the attention of the INC towards a new issue. Accordingly, Lord Curzon, in 1903, advised the British government to divide Bengal along communal lines and so, Bengal was divided in 1905 into a Muslim majority East Bengal and Hindu majority West Bengal.

Muslims felt delighted, and expressed thanks to the British as their socio-economic and political position improved. They formed their own government in East Bengal, and began to develop Chittagong port to compete with the Calcutta port. The partition ended the oppression of Muslims under Hindu rule. They began to get jobs under a Muslim government in the newly created province. Since 1857, for the first time, improved relations with the British.

The Hindu-led INC, on the other hand, reacted quite angrily. It fully pressurized the British government to reconsider the decision of partition. A country-wide anti-partition campaign was launched. Mob rallies were organized and shutter down strikes were observed as a token of resentment against the partition. With the passage of time, the opposition to the partition became fierce and eventually adopted the terrorist behavior. Many senior British officials were attacked including Lord Minto who survived a murder attempt. This created a serious problem for the British as they found it difficult to run the state affairs effectively.

The INC started the Swadeshi Movement in which boycott of the British goods and institutions was observed. British titles given to the Hindus were returned and the attendance in various institutes dropped significantly. At many places, the British factory made cotton cloth was thrown in the bonfire to mark the hatred against the Videshi/foreign goods. This created serious economic difficulties for the British as the sale of their products sharply declined in the Indian markets.

King George V was scheduled to visit India in 1911. The INC, threatened to boycott the Coronation ceremony of the King that was a royal tradition and a hallmark of British authority over its colonies. This threat of the INC was a serious blow to the pride and prestige of the British who were now pressurized to reconsider the partition. Sir John Jenkins, a member of the Viceroy's executive council, advised the British government to reverse the partition and the King himself announced the reversal in Delhi in 1911. Assam, Bihar and Orissa were separated from reunited Bengal.

It may be concluded that the partition of Bengal was quite successful as it strengthened the concept of Muslim nationalism. This feeling would gain strength in the coming years. Muslims got an opportunity to run the political affairs of a province with their

majority. This would help them thinking of making a Muslim majority state where they could live more comfortably.

Q: What was the Swadeshi Movement? (4)

Ans. It was launched by the Hindu-dominated INC (Congress) to oppose the partition of Bengal in 1905. A boycott of British goods was observed in several parts of India where the British-made cotton cloth was thrown into bonfires and Hindus were encouraged to wear locally produced (Videshi) clothes. Educational institutes and courts were also boycotted and strikes were observed, especially in Calcutta. Protest rallies were organised to pressurize the British till the reversal of partition of Bengal in 1911.

Q According to source A what message the heroine is conveying about the feelings of the Hindus on the partition of Bengal. (3)

Q (a) Source A:

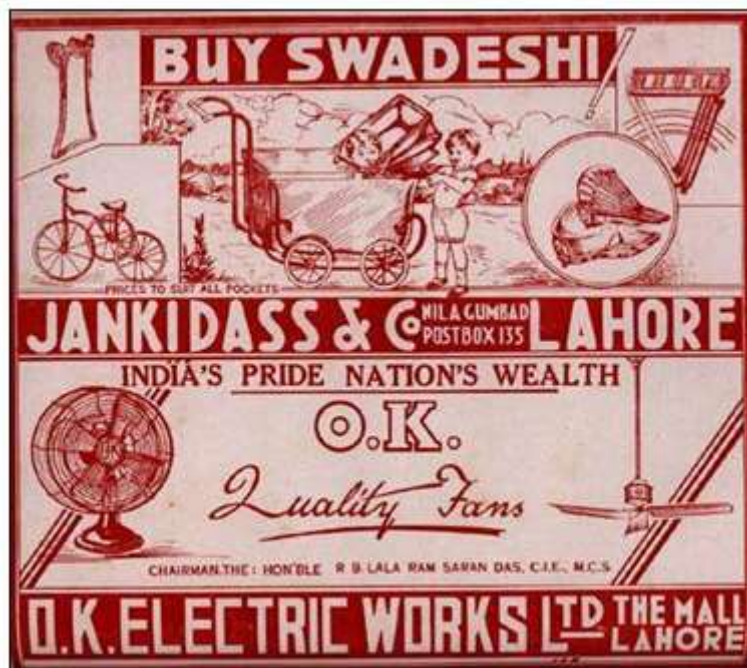
This is an excerpt from a novel of the Nobel laureate, Rabindranath Tagore, where the heroine of the novel says,

"I must burn all my foreign clothes as their outward shine carries a halo of darkness. I feel as if I am guilty of betraying my country. I do not wish to ever wear them again in this life until and unless the dividing communal line in Bengal is erased."

Ans: The heroine symbolizes the strong Hindu resentment of the partition of Bengal. She is condemning the use of the factory made cotton clothes of the British. She is encouraging all Hindus to stop wearing foreign clothes and instead should prefer the use of Indian clothes of hand-spun cotton as part of the Swadeshi Movement.

Q: Source B:

A picture showing the Swadeshi Movement launched by Congress after the partition of Bengal, 1905-1911.



Q.(b) What does source B tell us about the partition of Bengal? [5]

Ans.

The source shows the power of Congress in urging the Indians to boycott the British/Videshi goods, and buy the indigenous/Swadeshi products. The advertisement mentions some major shop of a Hindu trader located on the Mall, Lahore. This means the dominance of Hindu community on trade in the Muslim majority city of Lahore. It displays some of the locally manufactured electric fans and a variety of cycles. We can infer the local industry by the start of 20th century was well established in major cities of India. The purpose of the Swadeshi movement was to pressurize the British to review the partition of Bengal. Gradually, this movement would gain enough momentum forcing the British to reverse the partition of Bengal in December 1911.

THE SIMLA DEPUTATION

- Brit decision to win Muslim support for their rule
- Muslims observed the INC reaction over the partition of Bengal → growing protest of Hindus disappointed Muslims → fear of Hindu domination & acceptance of demand to reverse the partition
- Muslims, being a minority, could not organize similar protest → decided to approach the British to seek constitutional protection
- Oct 1906, Simla (summer capital) → 33 Muslim delegates under the Aga Khan met Viceroy Lord Minto.
- Important demands for safety of Muslims e.g.,
 - I. Separate Muslim electorates → Muslim candidates in the council elections & Muslim voters to elect them
 - II. Higher percentage of Muslims in the councils than their percentage in population.
- Muslims supported their demands with strong arguments → strength of Muslim troops in the British army, Muslim landowner class & fear of violence in case of joint electorates.
- Viceroy gave an encouraging response → agreed to the separate electorates.

Importance of the Simla Deputation

- Result of efforts of Sir Syed & others to improve relations b/w Muslims & British → now the British seemed to be ready work with Muslims.
- Muslims now working to find constitutional protection in the Hindu –majority India → the rivalry b/w Hindus & Muslims would now be seen in constitution, too.
- A step towards the goal of Muslim nationalism → Muslims realized they should be treated as a distinct community → need of a Muslim political party to work for the protection of Muslims → AIML was founded, Dec 1906.

Reasons for the formation of AIML (All India Muslim League)

- Muslims wanted to counter the influence of the INC → Muslims still felt insecure in spite of steps taken by the British → partition of Bengal & acceptance of the separate electorates
- Hindu reaction on partition of Bengal → protest, violence etc → Muslims needed to present concerns of Muslims to the British through an organized political party
- Increasingly pro-Hindu attitude of INC, esp its reaction on the partition of Bengal, Hindu dominance on INC & encouraging response of the British to the Simla Deputation → all this led to the formation of a separate Muslim party.
- The newly elected Liberal govt in England declared to include more Indians in the govt through elections → elections could only be contested by a political party.

Formation of the ML

- Prominent Muslim leaders on the 20th session of MEC (Muhammad Educational Conference), Dhakka
- After the session, a meeting under Nawab Viqarul Mulk → AIML was formed, 30 Dec, 1906.

Aims of the ML

- Protection of political rights & interests of the Indian Muslims
- Representing Muslim needs to the govt
- Loyalty to the British
- Removing misunderstanding b/w Muslims & the British govt.
- Preventing hostility in Muslims towards other communities of India.

Q: What was the Simla Deputation/Delegation? (4)

Ans. On 8th October 1906, a delegation of 36 Muslims led by Sir Aga Khan, called on the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla. The delegation conveyed to him a set of demands that included the right of separate electorates for Muslims, and recognizing them in respect of their political importance and the service they had rendered to the Empire. It asked for a higher percentage of seats in the councils than their numerical strength. The Viceroy promised to convince the British government for the acceptance of these demands. This success became the immediate reason for the formation of the ML (Muslim League) in December 1906.

Q: Why was the Simla Delegation Important? (7)

Ans.

The British showed their sympathy towards Muslims. The Muslim delegation was able to persuade the British to accept them as an important Indian community. This was possible mainly due to the attempts of Sir Syed and his colleagues to improve relations with the British. Now, their efforts had started bearing fruit as the British were prepared to work with the Muslims and grant them concessions like the separate electorates.

Success of the Simla delegation also showed the growing political awareness among Muslims about their rights and status in India. Since the Hindus had already started making progress in all walks of life, the rivalry between Muslims and Hindus was bound to grow. This rivalry was now going to be visible in the constitution, too. The Muslims had started realizing that they needed to secure a better position in the British India.

It also showed the growing sense of nationalism among Muslims. By asking for separate electorates and a greater share in the legislative councils and the government jobs demonstrated that Muslims had started working on proving themselves a distinct and important community of India. For this reason, the Muslims decided to make their own political party only after two months on 30th December 1906.

Q: Why was the Muslim League (ML) founded in 1906? (7)

Ans. The Muslims wanted a political party of their own. The INC claimed to represent all communities of India but it mainly worked for the interests of Hindus. Its reaction on the partition of Bengal in 1905 was a shocking experience for the Muslims as they realized the hidden INC aims of denying Muslims to make any progress. The way the INC launched the Swadeshi Movement and a country wide campaign of protest and strikes proved to be an eye opening experience for the Muslims. They increasingly felt the need of their own political party that could counter any anti-Muslim activities and campaigns.

In February 1906, the Liberal Party won elections in England. It was generally more sympathetic towards the Indians and especially at times towards Indian Muslims. It announced that it would expand the legislative councils by including more Indians. Muslims realized it was time to think of making a Muslim political party because the INC had not been sincere towards them. In order to join the legislative councils they needed a political party to contest elections.

Another reason for the formation of ML was the success of the Simla Delegation. In October 1906 about 36 Muslim delegates led by Sir Aga Khan called on the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla (the summer capital of the British India). It demanded a greater share of Muslims in the councils and separate Muslim electorates. Lord Minto's encouraging response convinced the delegates that the organized efforts were more likely to be successful. For this a political party was needed.

Q “The Muslim League was established in 1906 because of the Hindus had their own political party.” Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Ans:

The Muslim League was founded on 30th December, 1906. The pro-Hindu INC policies were a major reason for the formation of Muslim League (ML). The INC had been demanding enforcement of Hindi as the official language replacing Urdu in various provinces. It also opposed the partition of Bengal in 1905. This was shocking for the Muslims as they realized the hidden INC aims of denying Muslims to make any progress. The way the INC launched the Swadeshi Movement with country-wide protests and strikes, proved to be an eye opening experience for the Muslims. The reaction of Hindus meant they could not tolerate Muslims making progress. So the Muslims increasingly felt the need of their own political party that could counter any anti-Muslim activities and campaigns.

Another reason for the formation of ML was the success of the Simla Delegation. In October 1906 about 36 Muslim delegates led by Sir Aga Khan called on the Viceroy Lord Minto at Simla. This delegation demanded a greater share of Muslims in the councils and the government jobs. It also demanded separate electorates for the Muslims in view of their political importance and numerical weakness against the Hindu majority. Lord Minto’s encouraging response convinced the delegates that the organized efforts were more likely to be successful. For this a political party was needed.

By the start of the twentieth century the activities of the Hindu extremist party, Arya Samaj (Hindu Society), had become more intense. The purpose of this party was to purify India from non-Hindu elements, especially Muslims. With the passage of time it began to use force against the weak Muslims and there were reports of forcible conversion of Muslims into Hindus. Muslims felt insecure about their cultural and religious identity and realized that a political party could protect and promote their cultural and political rights.

In February 1906, the Liberal Party won elections in England. It was generally more sympathetic towards the Indians and especially, at times, towards Indian Muslims. It announced that it would expand the legislative councils by including more Indians. Muslims realized it was time to think of making their own political party because the INC had not been sincere towards them. In order to join the legislative councils elections had to be contested through the platform of a political party. Therefore, prominent Muslim leaders gathered at the residence of Nawab Salimullah Khan in Dhaka to attend the 20th session of the MEC (Muhammadan Educational Conference). There they decided to convert the MEC into a political party name All India Muslim Confederacy that was soon renamed as All India Muslim League. Its main objective was to protect political and socioeconomic interests of the Indian Muslims while keeping them loyal to the British.

It may be concluded that ML was founded mainly because the Hindus had their own political party. In view of the prevailing circumstances it was vital for Muslims to constitute a party that could voice their concerns and safeguard their political and cultural identity and rights. Eventually the ML became the founding party of the Pakistan Movement that led to the creation of Pakistan.

Source A: description of the background of the formation of All India Muslim League from an Internet link:

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/All-India_Muslim_League

“In 1886, Sir Syed founded the Muhammadan Educational Conference, but a self-imposed ban prevented it from discussing politics. Its original goal was to advocate for British education, especially science and literature among India’s Muslims. The conference, in

addition to generating funds for the MAO College Aligarh, motivated the upper Muslim class to propose an expansion of educational uplift elsewhere.”

Q. (a) What purposes does Source A describe of the Muhammadan Educational Conference? [3]

Ans.

It was primarily a non-political body as its members were not allowed to discuss politics. Its basic aim was to encourage Indian Muslims to acquire British education, especially to be familiar with science and literature. It raised funds for the MAO College Aligarh, and motivated the rich Muslims to work for uplifting educational standards in other parts of India.

Source B: a photograph of the founder members of the All India Muslim League.



Q. (b) Describe what Source B tell us about the foundation of the AIML. [5]

Ans.

Source B shows a simple but formal set up for the formation of the ML. All the six members are making an invocation to God for the success of the ML that means they have finalised the details of making the ML as the first Muslim political party. This also shows their sincerity and devotion to their mission. All are clad in the western dress that reflects their rich social background, the aristocrat class of the Indian Muslims. All except one are wearing a cap that may mean his more westernised background. The ML would continue to be called a party of elite Muslim class till the end of Congress rule in 1939.

The M.M (Morley-Minto) Reforms/Indian Councils Act, 1909

- Jointly drafted by Lord Minto (Viceroy) & John Morley (Secretary of State), approved by the govt.
- More Indian share in all the councils:
 1. The Imperial Council → 60 seats, with more non-official (not holding any govt office) members→ on the whole , majority of the official members was retained
 2. 60 more members in the Central Executive Council → members could discuss general matters & advise the govt on some matters e.g. budget
 3. Expansion of the Provincial Councils → 50 members in the larger, 30 members in the smaller provinces.

Importance of the M.M Reforms

- Greater say of the Indians in the govt affairs by expansion of central & provincial councils
- British desire to train the Indians in politics, allow them to express opinion, but they could not afford giving Indians any decisive powers→ the council members could raise questions & give advice to the govt but could not make/ change any law→ real powers with the British
- More non-official members → gradually, more elected members in the councils in future
- Separate Muslim electorates → a major breakthrough in British –Muslim relations & a major step towards national identity & protection of the Muslim community→ INC opposed this measure.

Reasons for INC opposing the M.M. Reforms:

- INC wanted more powers for the councils→ not satisfied with the limited concessions granted under the reforms
- Declared separate Muslim electorates against the spirit of democracy, although the British didn't aim at introducing democracy in India→ they were granting as few concessions to India as were necessary at that time.
- For INC, this was another step against the Indian nationalism & unity

Q: What was the Indian Councils Act 1909/The Morley-Minto Reforms?

[4]

Ans.

They were jointly drafted by the Viceroy Lord Minto, and the Secretary of State for India John Morley. Under these all the councils were enlarged. The Imperial Council now had 60 members, and 60 new members were added to the Central Executive Council. Provincial Councils were increased to 50 members in the larger and 30 in the smaller provinces. The councils, however, could not make, amend or annul any law but could only advise the government on important matters. Muslims were given the right of separate electorate and, therefore, the INC opposed the reforms.

Q: Why were the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 opposed by the INC?

(7)

Ans.

The INC was disappointed by the reforms. The reforms gave nominal powers to the central and provincial legislative councils. They could not make, change or annul any of the laws. Instead, the members could only ask questions on important matters express their opinions or advise the government respectfully. This went against the INC policy of making a demand for self-rule in India.

The INC also wanted a greater increase in the size of the councils at all levels so that a greater number of Indians could make way to the power corridor. The British knew all this and therefore, they increased the size of the councils according to their own policies as they were in no mood to raise the legislative councils to the status of a parliament or establish a democracy in India as can be seen from the remarks of John Morley, "I for one would have nothing to do with it (democracy/parliament)."

The INC sharply criticized the granting of separate electorate to the Muslims. It was unhappy on Muslims getting a relatively higher position in the councils despite their much smaller numbers. The INC declared this an undemocratic step because such a special concession to Muslims directly threatened the Hindu dominance in Indian politics.

Source A: criticism on the separate electorates for Muslims , from an Internet link :

<https://m.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/amp/indian-council-act-of-1909-morley-minto-reforms-main-features-1443011546-1>

"By granting separate electorates to Muslims, the British hoped to cut off Muslims from the nationalist movement by treating them apart from the rest of the nation. They told the Muslims that their interests were separate from those of other Indians. To weaken the nationalist movement, the British began to consistently follow a policy of communalism in India."

Q. (a) What does Source A tell us about the British aims in 1909? [3]

Ans.

The basic aim of the British was to keep Muslims from the nationalist. They convinced Muslims that their political interests were distinct from the rest of Indians. This was part of the British policy of communalism in India.

Source B: a photograph regarding the Indian Councils Act, 1909.



Q. (b) From Source B what message do we get about the Indian Councils Act, 1909? [5]

Ans.

The photograph shows the insignia of the British Parliament more prominently than the tricolour Congress flag. This conveys a message of the British dominance in India as all legislation about India was made by the British Parliament. The Congress flag represents the British awareness about the Indian reaction and political interests. Place of the flag shows that the British did not consult the Indians while introducing the Morley-Minto reforms as the British at that time could not grant any political freedom to the Indians. Congress criticised the Act sharply as it wanted more powers for the Council members, and was opposed to the separate electorates for Muslims.

Revolutionary attempts in India during the WW1

Q: What was the Silk Letter Movement/Conspiracy? [4]

Ans:

It was a revolutionary movement launched by the Deobandi sect of Sunni Muslims in India from 1913 to 1920. Its aim was to liberate India from the British rule with the help of Germany, the Ottoman Turkey and Afghanistan. The Punjab CID uncovered the conspiracy by capturing letters written by Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi to Maulana Mahmud Ul Hassan. These letters were written in silk cloth, hence the name "Silk Letters Conspiracy". Both the leaders visited Afghanistan and persuaded the Afghan Amir to initiate an insurrection in the tribal belt of India. However, like many other similar secret attempts, this too was foiled by the British.

Relations b/w Muslims & British before the WWI (First World War)

- 1911, reversal of partition of Bengal affected the relations because:

- Muslims took it as a betrayal of the British promises & reassurance to the Muslims that the partition was final
- They lost faith in British → they didn't expect any real political power to be given to them by the British
- Their frustration was reinforced when they saw the M.M. Reforms didn't grant any genuine powers to the Indians.
- 1912-13 → the Balkan Wars → British supported the Balkan States (SE Europe) against the Muslim Turkish Empire → feeling among Muslims about the anti-Muslim British policy in India & elsewhere → ML & INC would come closer in future.

The WWI (1914-1918) & Indian view to support the British

- Mixed views in India → Indian troops & resources, very important part of the British army → British acknowledged that
- Moderate politicians (idealists) wanted to support → British fought for the rights of nations for self-rule → if British won, they would give Indians more political rights through fresh reforms
- Anti-British politicians (realists), not sympathetic to British → British need & difficulty should be exploited → opportunity for Indians.
- These anti-British elements organized a series of attempts to destabilise the British rule → Mutiny party of Lala Hardyal Singh (USA), 1913; planned uprising of Indian nationalists in Punjab, 1915 & later, the Silk letters conspiracy & mutiny of Indian troops in Singapore → all failed attempts.

Q: Why were there mixed views in India about supporting the British in the WW1? (7)

Ans. The Indians were divided when the War broke out in 1914. Many of them were in a way 'idealists' as they believed that in case of the British victory they surely would reward Indian loyalty by introducing reforms to give the Indians a greater role in governing the country. They, therefore, agreed with the idea of giving support to the British on the ground that the British were fighting for the rights of nations to determine how they should be governed (self-determination). The British, too, admitted that the war would have prolonged beyond their calculations and indeed might not even have been won without the help of the Indians.

However, it is also true that many Indians were not sympathetic to the British and wanted to exploit the British weakness during the War. They saw Britain's 'necessity' as 'India's opportunity'. They were, therefore, called the 'opportunists' or 'realists'. According to their views, Britain was in difficulty and needed help, so there was more opportunity for the Indians to press the British for self-government. This 'anti-British' group soon began to take action in the form of the revolutionary activity in and beyond India. They included the Mutiny Party of Lala Hardayal in the US in 1913, rise of the nationalists in the Punjab in 1915 and the Silk Letter Conspiracy.

The Lucknow Pact (LP), 1916

Reasons for the Signing of the LP

- Failure of the British to grant more rights to the Indians, in the years upto 1915→major parties realized the need to press the British for that.
- Oppressive policies of the British in the early years of the WWI → Silk letters, Mutiny party etc
- Reversal of partition of Bengal & efforts of Jinnah to bring ML closer to INC → Jinnah joined ML, 1913, while remaining a member of the INC, played important role; ML changed its policy after 1911→from "loyalty to the British" to a demand for self-rule.
- Oct 1916 → British govt declared its decision for new reforms e.g. majority of the elected in various councils.
- ML & INC supported this & agreed on a number of joint demands.

Details of the LP

- 1915 → sessions of ML & INC in Bombay → joint councils to improve relations b/w two parties
- 1916→ joint session of ML & INC
- ML, led by Jinnah; INC, led by Ambeka Charan Mahajan.
- INC agreed on → separate Muslim electorates in the Imperial & Provincial Legislative Councils , even in Punjab & Bengal
- 1/3rd Muslim seats in the Councils (Central govt)
- Approval of 3/4th of members of some particular community to introduce any Act related to that community
- Protection of minorities
- Provincial autonomy
- More elected members in the councils
- Resolutions (motions) passed with majority in the Councils to be binding on the govt.

Importance of the LP

- First (& unfortunately, last) occasion of INC & ML making joint demand for political reforms in India
- Acceptance of separate electorates by INC meant → some kind / degree of partition of India would be necessary in case of any self-rule
- High water-mark of Hindu –Muslim unity, mainly due to the efforts of Jinnah → it would be short- lived & lead to communalism in India → e.g. results of the K.M. of 1919-1924.
- LP promoted the belief about some form of self-rule was possible in India → it was supported by the Home Rule Leagues of 1917 → one led by Tilak & the other by Mrs. Annie Besant.

Q: What was Lucknow Pact?

[4]

Ans.

It was an agreement signed between the Muslim League and the Congress in December 1916 at Lucknow. Jinnah led the ML while Mahajan led the INC. Congress agreed to the separate Muslim electorates and one third Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly. Both demanded more seats in the Councils, provincial autonomy and protection of minorities. It was the first occasion of Hindu-Muslim unity that showed the possibility of starting some kind of Home Rule campaign.

Q: Why was the Lucknow Pact signed in 1916?

[7]

Ans.

The INC and the ML decided to work together. Jinnah had joined ML in 1913 while retaining his membership of the INC. He persuaded the ML leaders to change the policy of "loyalty to the British" and make a demand for self rule. This brought ML closer to INC that already was demanding "Swaraj" (self rule). Gradually both parties realized it would be better to ask for constitutional reforms jointly.

The British were planning to introduce fresh reforms and this was leaked to the two major parties. The British had failed to grant more rights to the Indians in the period upto 1914. Instead, the British policy of repression during the WW1 also brought the two parties closer to each other. Therefore, both parties set up joint councils to improve common understanding on key issues. So, both decided to cooperate with each other in order to generate feelings of goodwill and friendship.

ML and INC also wanted to reduce mutual friction and to accommodate each other. The main figure in this regard was Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah who believed in a unity between the INC and the ML. He was, therefore, given the title of the 'ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity' by Mr. Gokhale. Thus, the INC and the ML held a joint session in Lucknow. In this INC for the first time accepted the separate electorates for Muslims and one third Muslim seats in the central government, in addition to preparing a draft of common demands for Indians.

Source A: part of a speech delivered by Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak after the signing of Lucknow Pact:

"It has been said that we, Hindus, have yielded too much. The concession that has been made to our Mohammedan brethren in the Legislative Council is really nothing too much. In proportion to the concession that has been made to the Moslems their enthusiasm and warm-hearted support is surely greater. I urge the audience to give effect to the resolution adopted by the Congress."

Q. (a) According to Source A, describe the feelings of Mr Tilak about the Muslims.

[3]

Ans.

Mr. Tilak is countering the objection about granting a greater share to the Muslims in the Central Legislative Council. He is pointing to the fact that the support offered by the Muslims in return, is more valuable. He is encouraging the Hindu audience to validate the resolution presented in the Lucknow Pact."

Source B: a photograph of the signing of Lucknow Pact.



Q. (b) What does Source B tell us about the joint session of ML and Congress? [5]

Ans.

The Source shows the final phase of the session as Jinnah is endorsing the Pact by signing the document. The session seems to have been held in a very formal way perhaps due to the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims. Jinnah is shown wearing his eastern dress, instead of his favourite western outfit, to convey a message of representing the Muslim community. He, and all those around him, carry a very serious but relieved look that highlights the importance of the agreement reached between the two major communities of India. The person who convened the meeting is shown behind the ML and Congress leaders, and he too, seems alert and focused. This shows the degree of understanding reached between the two parties. Though a great occasion of Hindu-Muslim unity, the spirit of Lucknow Pact would not last for a longer time mainly due to the changed stance of Congress in the years to come.

The Mont-Ford Reforms (Govt of India Act, 1919)

Why were they introduced?

- Mounting pressure on the British govt by Indians → growing demand for self-rule
- The LP b/w INC & ML could not be ignored → demand for greater rights for Indians.
- Woodrow Wilson, the US President & the wartime ally of Britain, insisted on granting the right of "self-determination" to various nations after the war.

Details of the Act

- Drafted jointly by the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford & Secretary of State, John Montague.
- Issued, July, 1919.
- Recommended some degree of responsibility to the elected representatives
- Legislative Council → now called Legislative Assembly, with 145 members' → 103 to be elected for a period of 3 years.
- Out of 103, 32 to be Muslims
- Legislative Assembly → lower house & the Council of States → upper house , 60 seats, 33 to be elected → a Bicameral set up
- A Council of Princes , 108 seats → to allow state princes to discuss important matters → no real powers → just a " talking shop"
- Diarchy in the provincial govt → two lists of responsibilities → " reserved subjects" under the governor & his Executive Council of 2-4 members
- Provincial ministers got the "transferred subjects" → ministers were responsible to the Provincial Legislative Councils.
- Greater number of voters → 5.5 millions out of 250 million
- Real powers still with the British , both in the Center & the Provincial levels → Viceroy could pass any law → Executive Council had nominated members, though 3-4 were Indians
- Provincial ministers, chosen by the Viceroy, from the Councils.

Reaction of the Indians to the 1919 Act

- The Act disappointed the major political parties of India
- Indians expected much more as reward for their role in the WWI , but the real powers still with the British → Viceroy & the Executive Council
- Gandhi & Jinnah opposed the Act → Aug 1918, special session of INC declared the Act as :
"Inadequate, unsatisfactory & disappointing"
- Jinnah, however, asked all to avoid violence and urged on working together.
- Other minorities also began to demand for the separate electorates' → more divisions among Indians.

The Rowlatt Act

- British anticipated violent reaction from the Indians → they were ready to deal with such reaction strictly
- Dec, 1917 → a committee under Justice Rowlatt, to investigate revolutionary activity in India.
- Apr 1918 → a the committee recommended some emergency measures under the Defence of India Act:
 1. arrest without warrant
 2. detention without bail
 3. the rights of the provincial govt to order people where to live.
- Widespread opposition by all major leaders → strikes & demonstrations
- Violence eventually escalated to the tragic "Amritsar Massacre" 1919 → General Dyer ordered fire on the unarmed crowd in the Jillianwala Bagh, Amritsar.

Q: What were the Mont-Ford reforms/The Government of India Act 1919? (4)

Ans. They were jointly drafted by the Secretary of State, John Montague and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. A bicameral set up was introduced at the Centre with an Upper House, the Council of States, and a Lower House, the Legislative Assembly. Out of 145 members of the Legislative Assembly, 103 were elected. At the provincial level, Diarchy was introduced under which some of the reserved subjects of the Governor were transferred to the ministers. The right of separate electorates was extended to the Sikhs, too. The number of voters was increased to 5.5 million. Both INC and ML opposed the reforms.

Q: What was the Rowlatt Act? (4)

Ans. The British anticipated a violent reaction to the Mont-Ford reforms. They appointed an investigative committee under Justice Rowlatt in Dec. 1917. In the light of its report the Rowlatt Act was passed in 1919. The Act empowered the local administration/police to arrest anyone without warrant, detain him without the right of bail and decide where the people in a province should live. Gandhi launched a countrywide strike against it, and Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest. A protest by 20,000 unarmed people led to the tragic massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, a public park, in Amritsar, in April 1919.

Q: Who was General Dyer? [4]

Ans.

He was a British commander, in charge of the police in Amritsar. He quickly mobilized his troops against a huge number of Indians who had gathered in a public park, Jallianwala Bagh. He thought the aim of these people was to protest against the Rowlett Act. On 13th April 1919 he ordered a direct shoot out on the peaceful gathering. Hundreds of people were killed and several more injured. Dyer was trialed for his cruel action and removed from his post.

Q: Describe the Amritsar Massacre? (4)

Ans. As part of protest against the Rowlatt Act, there was unrest in Amritsar and five Europeans were killed. An angry mob of 20,000 gathered in a public park, Jallianwala Bagh. Though all were peaceful protesters, General Dyer, the local British Commander was determined to restore peace as he had banned all public meetings. He sealed the only exit of the park and ordered a shootout without warning. Over 1600 rounds were fired and about 400 people were killed while another 1200 were wounded. Dyer was trialed under the Hunter Committee and was removed from his service without any further punishment.

Q: Why were Indians not given self-rule by 1919?

[7]

And:

The WW 1 had ended in 1918, and the British had suffered huge losses during the four years of the War. Their top priority was to pay attention to the repair and reconstruction of Britain that had been damaged by the Germans, and that made India a secondary issue for them. Britain very well knew about many other colonies ruled by the Europeans had started asking for independence thinking the British had been weakened by the War. It was not easy and simple to leave India abruptly at that time. Therefore, they rejected the Indian demand of self-rule.

Indian subcontinent was still a source of heavy income for the British. Its resources had a strong attraction for the British, and so, it was rightly called the Jewel in the Crown. Strategic location of India was vital for the trading interests and naval force of the British. There were sea trade routes from India towards the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa. They could not afford to pull out of India at this crucial time when they desperately needed revenue to keep their economic growth in a good shape. Moreover, several Indians, especially the Muslims and Sikhs were bulk of the British army. Along with these Indians, there were several thousand British employees in India, including missionaries, civil servants, businessmen and military officers. If India was given self-rule without a thorough planning, these British serving in India would have turned from an asset to a liability.

Finally, the question of British prestige was also a considerable factor. The British thought their prestige was likely to be damaged before the rest of the world if they had given in before the growing demand of self-rule by the Indians. Such a step might have conveyed a message of weak position of the British in India, and that too, after their victory in the WW1. It is equally true the Indians in 1919 were not politically mature and trained to run the state affairs on their own. Therefore, the British decided to keep their control over India by making new laws like the Montford reforms of 1919.

Q: “The Montague-Chelmsford reforms were more important than any other political developments between 1909 and 1919.’ Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans: The Montague-Chelmsford reforms (M.C reforms) were jointly drafted by John Montague, Secretary of State of India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy. They became operative in 1919. They enlarged the size of the legislative councils, increased the number of voters to 5.5 million and granted the right of separate electorate to Sikhs, too.

In the Centre, a bicameral set up was introduced with an upper house, the Council of State and a lower house the legislative assembly. The Council of State had 60 seats, 33 of whom were elected. The Legislative Assembly had 145 members, with 103 being elected for a period of 3 years. These 103 included 32 Muslims. A Council of Princes was setup with 108 members where Princes could debate important topics. At provincial level, Diarchy was introduced. In this, subjects were divided between the

governor (reserved subjects) and ministers (transferred subjects). Enlargement of the councils, increased number of voters and protection of minorities were welcomed. The real powers were, however, still with the British, as the Viceroy could pass any law he liked in the Centre. Governors of the provinces, likewise, could veto any law they disliked. The Council of Princes, too, didn't have powers and eventually it became a kind of a 'talking shop'.

To make things worse, the Rowlatt Act was enforced. It gave powers to the police to arrest anyone without warrant and detain him without the right of bail. The Act led to the tragic Amritsar massacre.

However, some other political developments also took place during the same time period. Before the 1919 Act, the British had introduced the Indian Councils Act 1909, also known as the Morley-Minto reforms (M.M. Reforms). Under this act, size of the provincial and central legislative councils was increased: for larger provinces 50 and for smaller provinces 30 members. The Imperial Council was increased to 60 members by adding more non official members. Also, the Central Executive Council was expanded by adding 60 new members, including many Indians. Muslims were given the right of separate electorates. The councils, however, had little powers. The members could ask questions and express their opinion and advise the government on some issues. INC was not satisfied with these provisions and it sharply criticized the provision of separate electorates for Muslims. For INC, it was an undemocratic concession, but for Muslim League, it was recognition of their political importance.

The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was an agreement between INC and Muslim League. Due to the efforts of Jinnah, ML and INC held their joint session at Qaiser Bagh Baradari, Lucknow. INC was led by Ambeka Charan Mahajan and ML was represented by Mr. Jinnah. Both parties agreed on a charter of common demands, called the Lucknow Pact. The Pact asked the British for provincial autonomy, enlargement of the councils by including more Indians. A very important clause was the acceptance of separate Muslim electorates by the INC. It also agreed to give Muslims one-third seats in the Centre. The Lucknow Pact marked a great occasion of Hindu-Muslim unity. It also showed the desire of self-rule among Indians, as there were two more Home Rule Leagues during the same period ---- one by Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak and the other by Mrs. Annie Besant. It, however, also reflected that Hindus would be ready to accept any degree of partition of India along communal lines in future.

With objective analysis, it seems that the Montford reforms were the most important political development, because the introduction of Diarchy and bicameral set up showed the British willingness to grant Indians more rights, though rather slowly.

Alternative judgements:

- The 1909 Act may be considered to be the most important development because by granting separate electorates for the Muslims, the British strengthened the idea of nationalism among Muslims which would evolve into their demand for a separate homeland.
- The Lucknow Pact looks to be the most important development because it showed the possibility of joint struggle for independence by the two largest communities of India, Hindus and Muslims. If the spirit of the Pact had been retained, British might have been pressurized more than their expectations.

Q: How successful were political developments in seeking a solution to the problems in the sub-continent between 1909 and 1919? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans.

The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 were jointly drafted by the Viceroy Lord Minto and the Secretary of State for India, John Morley. Under these the size of the central and provincial legislative councils was enlarged. The Imperial/Central Council was increased to 60 members. Provincial Councils and the Central Executive Council were also increased by adding more members. The Muslims were given the right of separate electorates. This means more Indians were included in the government affairs and they could express their opinions too. Granting of separate electorates to Muslims was a major step towards the development of Muslim nationalism. However, the INC opposed this because it viewed this as an undemocratic step. The councils could not make, amend or annul any laws. Therefore, the INC opposed the reforms as it wanted more Indians in the councils and more power for the council members.

The Lucknow Pact was signed between the ML and the INC in 1916. Both parties gathered in Lucknow with Jinnah representing the ML and Ambeka Charan Mahajan led the INC delegation. Both parties agreed to demand provincial autonomy and enlargement of councils in India. The INC accepted the separate electorates for Muslims and even agreed to one third seats in the government. For the first time both major parties had shown such a unity. It was a reflection of the campaign for self-rule in India. This success was greatly attributed to Jinnah who was hailed as “the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity”. However, it also showed the depth of communal divide in India because the separate electorates was linked with the distinct Muslim identity.

Secretary of States John Montague and the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford introduced the Mont-Ford Reforms as the Government of India Act 1919. As Indians expected some reward for their contribution in the WW1, the British gave them some concessions in the new reforms. In the Centre, a bicameral set up was introduced with an upper house, the Council of States, and a lower house, the Legislative Assembly. There was majority of the elected people in the Assembly. At provincial level, Diarchy was introduced in which some of the reserved subjects of the provincial governors were transferred to the ministers. This was claimed to be a step towards self-rule. Separate electorates was also extended to the Sikhs. Both the INC and the ML opposed these reforms as they had expected more political rights for the Indians. The British had anticipated this disappointment. Therefore, they implemented the infamous Rowlatt Act that empowered the police to arrest anyone without a warrant and detain the arrested person for an indefinite period. The Indian anger grew as Jinnah and Gandhi sharply criticized the Act. Hundreds of Indian protestors were killed in the Jillianwala Bagh in Amritsar.

If viewed objectively, it seems that all these political developments were a failure because they eventually escalated to dissatisfaction among Indians over

whatever was offered to them by the British. The political deadlock persisted despite efforts by both the British and the Indians.

Q: Which of the following had the most important effect on the Pakistan Movement 1909 and 1919?
[10/14]

Ans.

- (i) The Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909**
- (ii) The Reversal of Partition of Bengal, 1911**
- (iii) The Lucknow Pact, 1916**

The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 were jointly drafted by the Viceroy Lord Minto and the Secretary of State for India, John Morley. Under these the size of the central and provincial legislative councils was enlarged. The Imperial/Central Council was increased to 60 members. Provincial Councils and the Central Executive Council were also increased by adding more members. The Muslims were given the right of separate electorates. This means more Indians were included in the government affairs and they could express their opinions too. Granting of separate electorates to Muslims was a major step towards the development of Muslim nationalism. The INC opposed this because it viewed this as an undemocratic step. This supposition by the INC further alerted the Muslim community that was already upset over the Hindu reaction on the partition of Bengal.

As for the reversal of partition, it mainly came about as a result of the ever growing Hindu pressure on the British. The Hindu-dominated INC organized a country wide anti-partition campaign. Regular protests and strikes were held, and boycott of British goods, titles and institutes was organized on a large scale. They rejected the partition by linking it with the British strategy of dividing Indians into sub-groups and creating communal differences. The Hindu anger was further reflected in the Swadeshi movement. In this a boycott of British goods was observed. At many places, the British factory made cotton cloth was thrown in the bonfire and this caused a significant drop in the sale of British goods.

Gradually, the movement adopted terrorist activities when an attempt was made to assassinate Lord Minto. British goods and institutes were boycotted as a token of protest over the partition. Though the Muslims were assured of the irreversibility of the partition, the circumstances forced the British to reconsider this administrative decision. Pressure grew with time as all these activities were paralyzing the state machinery and there was a visible threat to the British prestige and power in India. The British, therefore, annulled the partition in December 1911 in the Delhi Darbar and the announcement was made by King George V himself. The announcement shocked the Muslims who felt betrayed by the British. They felt they could no longer trust either the INC or the British for the safeguarding of their political interests. Therefore, soon on the advice of Jinnah, the ML would demand self rule instead of its earlier policy of promoting loyalty to the British.

The Lucknow Pact was signed between the ML and the INC in 1916. Both parties gathered in Lucknow with Jinnah representing the ML and Ambeka Charan Mahajan led the INC delegation. Both parties agreed to demand provincial autonomy and enlargement of councils in India. The INC accepted the separate electorates for Muslims and even agreed to one third seats in the government. For the first time both major parties had shown such a unity. It was a reflection of the campaign for self-rule in India. This success was greatly attributed to Jinnah who was hailed as "the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity". However, it also showed the depth of communal divide in India because the separate electorates was linked with the distinct Muslim identity. Thus, the recognition of political significance of

Muslims by the Hindus contributed towards the shaping of the Pakistan Movement.

It may be concluded that the reversal of the partition of Bengal had the most important effect on the Pakistan Movement because it created political awareness among Muslims who realized how insecure they would be in a Hindu-ruled India where they would be denied any chance of making progress or prospering in politics and economy.

Q. Was the introduction of the Rowlatt Act was the sole cause of violence in India during 1919 and 1920? Explain your answer.

[14]

Ans.

The British had been closely watching the revolutionary activities in India during the WW1. After the War, they offered Indians some political concessions in the 1919 Act. They, however, were determined to strengthen their grip on India, and deal with those who opposed the British rule. Accordingly, while drafting the 1919 Act, they appointed a committee in 1917 under Justice Rowlatt. The committee was assigned the task of investigating the revolutionary activities in India. The committee declared in its report in April 1918 that there was ample evidence of revolutionary attempts in India. It recommended extending strict laws in the Defence of India Act, 1915 permanently to deal with such anti-British activities. These strict laws included, arresting any suspect without warrant and detaining the arrested person for an indefinite period without granting him the right of bail. Moreover, they included such steps as 'juryless' in camera trials, and empowered provincial government to ask residents of any area where to live.

These proposals angered the Indians a lot as they contradicted two of the central principles of the British justice system, namely trial by jury, and providing safeguards against illegal imprisonments. Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest, and Gandhi immediately launched a campaign against the proposals. Throughout April 1919 there were strikes and demonstrations throughout India as the Indians rejected such unusually strict measures. The Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, however, remained firm, ignoring all protests. The report was presented as two bills in the British Parliament, and they were called "Black Bills" by the Indian leadership. The Bills were passed and enforced as the Rowlatt Act in 1919. He mishandled the situation by adopting more unpopular measures such as putting a ban on publishing anti-British articles.

The politically volatile situation resulting from the implementation of the Rowlatt Act worsened with time as the British were totally inflexible about it. They tried to restrict the Indian protests, and banned public meetings. Moreover, by early 1919, they deported two prominent nationalist leaders, Dr Satyapal and Dr Saif-ud- Din Kitchlew. The public unrest gained momentum especially in Punjab. On 10 April, large scale riots in Amritsar led to attacking two banks and killing of five Europeans. Violence escalated when the British commander of the area, General Dyer banned all public meetings. The notice of this ban was not publicised widely. So several Hindu and Sikh villagers primarily gathered to celebrate the their annual festival of Baisakhi in the public park. They also wanted a peaceful demonstration against the Act.

Dyer was angered when he was told about a crowd of 20,000 gathered at Jilianwala Bagh, a public park in Amritsar on 13 April 1919. The park had a narrow entrance surrounded by a 5 foot wall. Dyer appointed his troops at the entrance, and ordered an immediate shootout without any warning. Around 1600 rounds were shot causing about 400 deaths of men, women and children. Another people 1200 were wounded. Dyer justified his step by saying he wanted the Indians to obey the British rule in all circumstances. He was

reprimanded by the British government but the media defended his action. This further angered the Indians, and consequently violence grew more in India.

The viceroy Lord Chelmsford and the Secretary of State for India, Lord John Montague jointly drafted the Government of India Act 1919, also called Montford reforms. Indians had high hopes of some reward for their contribution in the WW1. Several Indians had sacrificed their lives , and several others had returned without any compensation. The 1919 Act enlarged the size of all legislative councils, now called assemblies. In the Centre, a bicameral set up was introduced. The lower house was called the Legislative Assembly that had a greater number of elected members. The upper house was the Council of State , while a Council of Princes was also set up. At the provincial level, Diarchy was introduced under which some powers of the governors were transferred to the ministers. However, the Viceroy could pass any law he liked. Similarly, the provincial governor could declare emergency without consulting the ministers. Therefore, the reforms greatly disappointed the Indians who had expected more powers for the elected members. Congress, in August 1918, declared the Act as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing. Moreover, granting the right of separate electorate, earlier given to Muslims, to other minorities led to communal divide and then communal violence in India. Extremists left the Congress, and this caused further violence.

It may be concluded that the Rowlatt Act was the most important reason of violence as it negated fundamental human rights of the Indians, and weakened the British claims of justice for all. The same law led to the tragic incident of the Amritsar massacre.

New Pattern Question:

Q: (part a of Q1.) Source A, a statement of Jinnah against the Rowlatt Act,

“In my opinion, a Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claims to be called a civilized Government. Passage of such laws is bound to lead to unrest in the country and growth of resentment against the Government. I advise the British to reconsider the Act.”

According to source A, what message is being conveyed by Jinnah? (3)

Ans. In Jinnah’s opinion the Rowlatt Act was passed at a wrong time. The clauses of the Act negated the British claim of being a civilized Government in India. He is drawing the attention of the British authorities towards a possible outbreak of large scale violence.

Source B: (part b of Q.1)



Gen. Dyer examining the site in Jillianwal Bagh after the shootout.

**Describe the scene of the site of the massacre as shown in source B. [5]
Ans.**

General Dyer has been escorted to the site of the shootout. He is closely observing the scene and is being briefed about the whole incident by his soldiers. He seems to dominate those around him as can be seen from his confident posture. This is evident from the unusually respectful attitude of all his subordinates around him shows that he is in full control of the situation. His subordinates comprise a mix of British and local Indian officials and soldiers that proves his commanding position in Amritsar. The whole scene suggests that he has achieved his objective of telling the Indians to obey the British in all circumstances. Soon the Khilafat Movement (1919-1924) and Gandhi's non-cooperation movement would reunite the Hindus and Muslims against the British.

The Khilafat Movement (1919-1924)

Causes

- Deep rooted Muslim fears about anti-Muslim British Policy within India as well as elsewhere.
- Demolition of the eastern part of a mosque in Kanpur in July 1913 despite repeated requests by the Muslims to the British government.
- Tussle between Russia and British over how to rule Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan without considering feelings of Muslim population of these countries.
- British support to Balken states (south east Europe) against Turkey, in the Balkan Wars, 1912-13; Turkey lost control over most of its territories in Europe.
- Fears about break up of Turkish Empire (Ottoman Empire) by British after WW1 was another major reason.
- Indian Muslims supported British in WW1 against Germany and her supporters (including turkey) on British promise of maintaining respect with Turkish Empire and khilafat.
- Khalifa of Turkey was the spiritual head of Muslims and was the custodian of holy places of Islam in Arabia and elsewhere.
- As the WW1 ended British began to punish Germany and her allies by various treaties e.g. treaties of Sevres and Versailles.
- Muslims were alarmed on this and organized the Khilafat Movement (K.M).

Progress of the Khilafat Movement:

- Main leaders were Muhammad Ali Jauhar, Shukat Ali Jauhar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Doctor Mohammad Ansari and Gandhi would soon join it.
- First Khilafat conference was held in January 1920. They met the Viceroy to convince about fair treatment of Turkey but there was no success.
- In February 1920 another Khilafat deputation took place and they called on Prime Minister Lloyd George to convince him for justice with Turkey but again there was no success once again.
- Gandhi merged his “non-cooperation movement” with the khilafat movement and that greatly strengthened the K.M.
- In August 1920 the Hijrat Movement began as India was considered to be Dar-ul-Harb by Muslims scholars (a place where there was non-Muslim rule); so about 18,000-20,000 Muslims migrated to Afghanistan in batches, and as a consequence many died during long journey and lost jobs as well as houses to others.
- The Prince of Wales visited Bombay/ Mumbai in 1921; nationwide strikes and demonstrations welcomed him; 53 people were killed; increased anti-British sentiments as they used force and arrested around 30,000 political workers.
- The KM thus attracted both Muslims and Hindus for the common cause of opposing the British rule.

End of the Khilafat Movement:

- Gandhi had joined the movement on condition of keeping it non-violent but after the Chaura Chauri incident when 22 policemen were burnt alive he withdrew from the movement.
- Main leaders were arrested after the third conference.
- In 1924 the Khilafat was abolished by Kamal Attaturk, who sent the last khalifa Sultan Muhammad VI into exile and himself became ruler of modern Turkey.

Causes of Failure of the Khilafat Movement:

- Poor leadership: leaders of the khilafat movement were more concerned about the fate of Turkey and Khilafat than western owners and government as well as about the people of Turkey. Kamal Attaturk abolished the Khilafat in dilemma. Thus they couldn't continue a movement whose very cause had been abolished.
- Failure of Hijrat Movement: Thousands of Muslims suffered miserably during and after the migration those who returned to India found their jobs and homes being occupied by others.
- Gandhi's withdrawal: Gandhi's condition of non-violence for his support to Khilafat movement was not fulfilled as violence broke in parts of India e.g. Chaura Chauri. Gandhi withdrew at a critical time. His withdrawal proved fatal for the Muslims.
- Spirit of Khilafat Movement was greatly affected by a strong anti-British feeling as a result of non-cooperation movement of Gandhi. This played important role in weakening and failing of Khilafat Movement because the objective of the Khilafat movement was made less visible.
- The Moplah uprising, 1921; enthusiastic religious Muslims, destroyed a local police station and damaged the Hindu property; targeted both the Hindu landlords and the British.
- Their activities seriously damaged the Hindu-Muslim unity; Hindus were already hesitant to support the Khilafat Movement.

Effects of the Khilafat Movement:

Positive Effects:

- Muslims realized the importance of their political power as they were now no more pets of the British but could rise in unity for a common cause.
- The Hindu-Muslim unity proved possibility of self-rule in future as both joined hands in non-cooperation; this unity greatly worried the British as a united front was more challenging for them.

Negative Effects:

- The Hindu-Muslim unity was short lived as there were essential differences between the two.
- The Hijrat Movement had drastic effects on the thousands of innocent Muslims.
- The British-Muslim relations were damaged.
- The primary objective of saving the Khilafat was not achieved; this shocked the Indian Muslims.

The Khilafat Movement 1919-1924

Q: What was the All India Khilafat Conference? (4)

Ans. It was held in Delhi in November 1919, led by the Ali brothers, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar and Maulana Shaukat Ali. They hoped to try and persuade the British to keep their promises about maintaining the respect of the Turkish Empire. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Gandhi attended it as representatives of the INC. Gandhi hoped to keep Hindus and Muslims united in his non-violent campaign against the British. Azad warned the Conference that the British PM Lloyd George planned to punish Turkey for fighting against the British in the WW1. The Conference passed a resolution for sending a delegation to Britain to tell it about the strength of the Muslim support for the Khalifa and the institute of Khilafat.

Q: What was the Khilafat Movement? (4)

Ans. It was started in 1919 by the Muslim religious leaders of India to save the respect of Turkey and the institute of Khilafat. Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were its major leaders. Gandhi merged his non-cooperation campaign with it. Three Khilafat Conferences were held, a delegation was sent to the British PM Lloyd George in February 1920 to persuade him for a fair treatment of Turkey. Thousands of Muslims migrated to Afghanistan in the Hijrat Movement in 1920. Jinnah and the ML stayed away from it but supported the cause of the Khilafat Movement. The Movement ended in 1924 with the abolition of the Khilafat by Kemal Attaturk.

Q: What was the Moplah uprising? (4)

Ans. It was a violent uprising by the Moplahs, Muslim peasants in South India during the Khilafat Movement. Their anger was against Hindu landowners and the British. In August 1921, nearly 10,000 Moplahs at Tirur destroyed the police station and seized all arms and also destroyed Hindu property including temples. The British troops reacted quickly and killed more than 4,000 Moplahs while several more were wounded. There were only 100 British casualties.

Q: What was the Hijrat Movement? (4)

Ans. It was a religious move that was started by the Muslim leaders of the Khilafat Movement in August 1920. The leaders urged Muslims to leave Dar ul Harb, India, and migrate to the neighbouring Dar ul Islam, Afghanistan. Around 18000-20000 Muslims migrated, selling their houses and leaving their jobs. They were promised a better future but the Afghan government refused to accommodate them. Many died on their way back to India.

Q. Who was Sultan Muhammad/Mehmet VI? [4]

Ans.

He was the last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire who ruled from July 1918-1922. His decision to support Germany against Britain in the WW-I proved disastrous as Turkey lost control over Baghdad, Jerusalem and Constantinople (Istanbul). The Ottoman Empire was abolished by the Allies under the treaty of Sevres, August 1920. As he lost popularity, the Turkish Grand National Assembly under Kemal Attaturk

deposed the Sultan and sent him into exile to Italy. Attaturk abolished the Khilafat in 1924. He died in May 1926 and was buried in Damacus.

Q. What was the Chauri-Chaura incident? [4]

Ans.

Chaura-Chauri is a village in Gorakhpur district, UP. A violent incident took place there in February 1922 during the peak phase of the Khilafat Movement. An angry mob participating in the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi attacked the local police station. The police opened fire, and in retaliation the mob set fire to the police station. This resulted in burning alive of 22 policemen and killing of 3 civilians. Gandhi, who had conditioned his support for non-cooperation movement with Ahimsa / Ahinsa or non-violence, withdrew from the movement. This greatly weakened the Khilafat Movement.

Q: What was Non-Cooperation Movement? [4]

Ans.

It was primarily launched by Gandhi 1920 onwards, also followed by the Muslim leaders after Gandhi's merger of non-cooperation with the Khilafat Movement. The third and last Khilafat Conference was held in July 1921 in Delhi. The leaders of the movement urged people to boycott British educational institutions, stop working in the police or cooperating with the British in any other way. All major leaders of the Khilafat movement were arrested after the conference. Muhammad Ali Jauhar was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. His defiant statements during his trial made him a hero among the Muslims.

Q: Why was the Khilafat Movement founded? (7)

Ans. The Indian Muslims wanted to keep the Khilafat alive. Turkey's decision to support Germany in the WW1 had put the Indian Muslims in a predicament as they feared harsh treatment of Turkey in case of the defeat of Germany. They, therefore, had conveyed their reservations to the British in the beginning of the War. The British promised that no harm would be done to the Caliphate/Khilafat and the Muslims troops fought for the British on this reassurance. However, after the War, through the peace treaties such as the Treaty of Sevres, it became evident that Britain and France would punish Germany and abolish the Turkish Empire by dividing its slices among the victors.

They had a special respect for the Turkish/Ottoman Empire as the Sultan of Turkey was also the spiritual head or Khalifa of the entire Muslim world. He was the custodian of all the holy places of Islam in Arabia and other Middle Eastern states. Therefore, any punishment of Turkey meant an insult of the Khalifa and that tantamounted to hurting the religious sentiments of the Muslims. Therefore, in an attempt to maintain the respect and its Khalifa, the prominent religious leaders of India, like the Ali brothers, hastily organized the All-India Khilafat Conference in 1919.

Finally the Indian Muslims had long been developing fears about the British policy towards them not only in India but in other parts of the world, too. The governor of UP, Sir James Meston, ordered demolition of the eastern part of a mosque in

Kanpur as part of a project of widening a road in the city. A Hindu temple on the same road was spared when Hindus pressurized the British government. This generated anger among Muslims as it reflected a disregard for the Muslim holy places by the British. Consequently many Indian Muslim leaders began to believe that British wanted to induce a fear of Hindus so that Muslims could be forced to cooperate with the British wherever needed. For this reason, leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sharply criticized the Muslims who had joined the British army. Clash of views between Russia and Britain about governing Afghanistan and Persia (Iran) further added to their worries as the two powers did not consider the feelings of the Muslim population of these states.

Q: Why did the Khilafat Movement fail by 1924? (7)

Ans. The Movement was not well organized. Gandhi had supported the Movement on the condition of Ahimsa/non-violence while merging his non-cooperation movement of Swaraj/self-rule. However, the violence at Chauri-Chaura in 1922 forced him to withdraw his support. About 22 policemen were burned alive by an angry mob that had taken control of the Police station in this town of Gorakhpur district. Gandhi's support had strengthened the Khilafat Movement significantly, and therefore, his withdrawal proved fatal for it as it lost the support of the Hindu majority. Thus, trusting Gandhi also reflected lack of political insight in the leaders of the Khilafat Movement.

In August 1920, about 18,000 Muslims left for Afghanistan after selling their properties and leaving their jobs after their leaders had declared India as Dar ul Harb/a land under the enemy rule. They also promised them a bright future by asking them to cultivate the fertile lands in Afghanistan. However, most of these migrants were pushed back by the people and the Government of Afghanistan as the country did not have enough resources to accommodate a growing number of migrants. Many died during the long journey and those who managed to reach back their homeland, faced serious economic problems as their homes and jobs had been occupied by others. They lost enthusiasm in the movement and trust in the leaders.

Finally, the last nail in the coffin of the Khilafat Movement was driven by the Turkish Military leader Kemal Attaturk (Mustafa Kemal Pasha). In 1922 under a military revolution, Turkey became a republic and the last Khalifa Sultan Muhammad/Mehmet VI was deprived of political powers. Attaturk, in the meantime, had regained some of the lost Turkish territories and forced the Allies for a new peace treaty, the Treaty of Lausanne. This made him a hero in the eyes of the Turkish people. In 1924, the new Turkish Government led by Kemal Attaturk, abolished the institute of Khilafat and later sent the last Khalifa into exile. This proved to be a decisive blow to the Khilafat Movement since it showed that the Turks didn't care for the struggle of the Indian Muslims. That is why some historians have described the Khilafat Movement, as a wrong ideology, romantic and out of touch with realities. The Indian Muslims were greatly disillusioned by this act of a fellow Turkish Muslim and it sealed the fate of the Khilafat Movement.

Q: The Khilafat Movement (KM) was founded mainly due to the deep seated fears among the Muslims about the anti- Muslim British policies. Explain why you might agree and disagree? (14)

Ans. Muslims were suspicious of many of the British policies. Indian Muslims had been developing fears about the British policy towards Muslims not only in India but in other parts of the world. The governor of UP, Sir James Meston, ordered demolition of the eastern part of a mosque in Kanpur as part of a project of widening a road in the city. A Hindu temple on the same road was spared when Hindus pressurized the British government. Many Muslims requested the governor not to demolish any part of the mosque but did not accept their request. This generated anger among Muslims as it reflected a disregard for the Muslim holy places by the British. Consequently many Indian Muslim leaders began to believe that British wanted to induce a fear of Hindus so that Muslims could be forced to cooperate with the British wherever needed. For this reason, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sharply criticized Muslims who had “cooperated with the Satans of Europe”. As a result of such statements, there were a large number of desertions by Muslim soldiers in the British army when they were asked to fight against fellow Muslims in Turkey. The neighbouring Muslim states, Afghanistan and Persia (Iran) had been the subject of clash between Russia and Britain. Both powers agreed on the way the two Muslim states should be run without consulting or considering the opinion of Muslim majority in the two states. Therefore when, the WWI ended. the British aims about the fate of Turkey became public, prominent Muslim leaders in India did not hesitate in organizing a powerful Khalifat Movement whose aim was to save the sacred institute of Khalifat. Roots of KM are to be traced in the beginning and the end of WWI (World War One, 1914 – 1918). Since Turkey had decided to support Germany in the War, the Indian Muslims felt themselves in a predicament as they developed a fear that Indian Muslims might be forced to fight against the Turkish Muslims if they were pitted against each other during the War. To this was added the fear of harsh treatment of Turkey by the British-led Allies in case of British victory. On the British reassurance the Muslims soldiers decided to support the British army So they sought reassurance about the respect of Turkey. After the war, the peace treaties of Versailles and Sevres unfolded the British plans of abolishing the Turkish empire alongwith punishing Germany and Austria. The Muslims felt disillusioned about the British promises and immediately founded a Khalifat Committee to launch the KM. Turkey was not just the only Muslim empire in the World, it was also the last seat of the institute of Khalifat for many centuries. Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa (spiritual head) of the Muslim world and in that capacity, he was custodian of the Holy places of Islam in Arabia and other parts of the Middle East. His name was pronounced in the Friday sermons throughout the Muslim world as a token of respect for his dignified status. This was so because of the sanctity of institute of Khalifat since the days of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (632 AD – 661AD and onwards). Thus Indian Muslims, like Muslims of the other part of the world, had great respect for Turkey in general and the Khalifa in particular. Therefore they felt themselves morally and religiously bound to make all out efforts to save the Khalifat. In view of all these, we may conclude that the fear about the anti Muslim British policies was the most important reason for the foundation of the KM because the Indian Muslims had started believing that the British were bent upon weakening the Muslims so that their imperial designs of ruling various parts of the world could be effectively materialized.

Q: The Khilafat Movement failed because Gandhi withdrew his support. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans: Gandhi withdrew his support at a critical moment. Initially Gandhi had conditioned his support for the Khilafat Movement with Ahimsa (non-violence). When in February 1922, an angry mob took control of a police station in the UP town of Chauri Chaura and burned 22 policemen alive, Gandhi reacted on this violent event and announced the withdrawal of his support for the Khilafat Movement. It was a deadly blow to the movement. Gandhi was perhaps using this movement in order to strengthen his Swaraj Movement. Now, just as Gandhi's support was vital for the movement, his withdrawal proved fatal because he had unified the two largest communities of India ---- Hindus and Muslims. In the following years, violent communal clashes between the Muslims and Hindus erupted which marred the Khilafat Movement, for example, the Moplah uprising in Southern India.

Failure of the Hijrat Movement also damaged the stability of the Khilafat Movement. In 1920, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other leaders declared India as Dar-ul-Harb (literally, "battle field" and, in Islamic Sharia, "a land under enemy/non Muslim rule). They asked the Muslims to migrate to the nearest independent Muslim state Afghanistan. The exact figures aren't known but it's estimated that anywhere from around 15000 - 20000 Muslims resigned from their jobs, sold their properties and left for Afghanistan. Many students left their studies and joined the migrant Muslims. These Muslims had been promised a good future in Afghanistan where, by cultivating the fertile lands, they could start a new phase of life. Unfortunately, these promises proved fake as Afghanistan was a resource-deficit country with a rugged landscape and without any fertile land. In the beginning the migrant Muslims were welcomed but as their number grew they were pushed back. Many were accommodated in Peshawar and neighbouring towns of modern day KPK but many died during the long and dangerous journey. Those who managed to get back to India found their jobs and homes occupied. This Hijrat Movement brought economic disaster and miseries to thousands of Muslims and also damaged the creditability of the Khilafat leaders. Indian Muslims also realized that Muslims of others states were not as much concerned about the Khilafat as they themselves had been.

In southern India the Muslim peasants of the Arab origin became violent in August, 1921. They were enthusiastic religious Muslims, who were angry with both the powerful Hindu landlords as well as the British authorities. At Tirur nearly 10,000 Moplahs destroyed the local police station and seized arms and ammunition. They also damaged the Hindu property including temples. The British troops soon took strict action as they killed more than 4,000 Moplahs and wounded several others. The British suffered around 100 casualties. The violence damaged the cause of the Khilafat Movement by dividing Muslims and Hindus in all parts of India. The Hindu community gradually withdrew its support for the Khilafat Movement.

Finally, the last nail in the coffin of the Khilafat Movement was driven by the Turkish Military leader Kemal Attaturk (Mustafa Kemal Pasha). In 1922 under a military revolution, Turkey became a republic and the last Khalifa Sultan Muhammad/Mehmet VI was deprived of political powers. Attaturk, in the meantime, had regained some of the lost Turkish territories and forced the Allies for a new peace treaty, the Treaty of Lausanne. This made him a hero in the eyes of the Turkish people. In 1924, the new Turkish Government led by Kemal Attaturk, abolished the institute of Khilafat and later sent the last Khalifa into exile. This proved to be a decisive blow to the Khilafat Movement since it showed that the Turks didn't care for the struggle of the Indian Muslims. That is why some historians have described the Khilafat Movement, as a wrong ideology, romantic and out of touch with realities. The

Indian Muslims were greatly disillusioned by this act of a fellow Turkish Muslim and it sealed the fate of the Khilafat Movement.

It may be concluded that the Khilafat Movement failed mainly due to the abolition of the Khilafat by Kemal Attaturk because the Indian Muslims found it pointless to continue a movement whose very foundation had been lost. They also felt totally isolated as Muslims of other states did not support them against their expectations.

Q: How successful was the Khilafat Movement?

Or

Q: The Khilafat Movement did not achieve any major objective. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans. The Khilafat Movement was a failure. Due to the poor leadership and its defective planning the Movement adversely affected several Muslims. The failed Hijrat Movement brought economic disaster for thousands of Muslims as they had left their jobs and properties before migrating to Afghanistan. They were greatly disappointed when they were returned by the people and the Government of Afghanistan. They stopped trusting their leaders who had made false promises of a bright future in Afghanistan.

Another negative impact of the failure of the Khilafat Movement was the short-lived Hindu-Muslim unity. The Khilafat leaders had immediately welcomed Gandhi's offer of merging his non-cooperation campaign with the Khilafat Movement, though he had subjected his support to non-violence. Therefore, the lack of insight of the Khilafat leaders became evident when Gandhi withdrew his support after the violent incident at Chauri Chaura. His withdrawal at a critical moment damaged the Movement on one hand, while it drove a wedge between Hindus and Muslims. Communal violence erupted shortly afterwards in other parts of India, too. For example, in Southern India about 4000 Moplah Muslims were killed in similar acts of violence. More over, the primary objective of saving the institution of Khilafat was not achieved as a Turkish Muslim, Kemal Attaturk abolished it in 1924.

However, there were also some significant benefits of the Khilafat Movement. The policy of non-cooperation brought Hindus and Muslims closer to each other and their joint efforts pressurised the British a lot because they were the two largest communities of India. This joint struggle also indicated rejection of the British rule. Therefore, the Movement may be seen as the first step on the road to independence. The Khilafat Movement changed the image of the Muslims to a great extent and they began to realise their political power. They got united for a common cause that they wanted to be respected by the British. They were no more seen as 'pets of the British' and they began to realise that they did not have to rely on either the Hindus or the British to gain their rights. In fact, the temporariness of the Hindu-Muslim unity came as a blessing in disguise to them because they realised that in future they would have to work independently. This proved true when they made a demand for Pakistan in March 1940.

It may be concluded that despite some of its positive effects, the Khilafat Movement on the whole was a total failure because the ultimate goal of restoration of the institute of Khilafat could not be achieved. Instead, Muslims learned a hard lesson that their attempt for starting a Pan-Islamic Movement was only a dream that was not destined to materialise.



Q. What do we learn about Gandhi and Khilafat movement?

[5]

Ans.

The source shows the initial phase of the Khilafat Movement. It is the occasion when Gandhi had merged his non-cooperation movement with the Khilafat Movement in order to reinforce the pressure against the British. Gandhi is surrounded by Hindus and Muslims, including the famous Muslim scholar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Maulana Azad is advising something important to Gandhi, that shows the intimate relationship between the two. Gandhi is wearing his favourite simple dress of locally made cotton that reflects his resentment against the British cloths. The non-cooperation movement initially strengthened the Khilafat Movement. However, the violent incident at Chauri Chaura would force Gandhi to withdraw his support for the Khilafat Movement. Thus, the dream of Hindu-Muslim unity would be shattered.

1927-1939

1927 The Simon Commission (S.C.)

CAUSES:

- British promise to review the 1919 act after 10 years. But violence in India grew so British took action two years earlier. They appointed an advisory body i.e. Simon Commission to advise about future constitution of India.
- Conservative party government feared loss to labour party who could grant too many concessions to India.
- So, a seven member commission was sent under Sir John Simon which reached India in early 1928.

PROCEEDING:

- S.C. was opposed by major parties in India as it was “an all white body” as no Indian included; it was greeted by the slogans like “Uninvited guest of India, go back.”
- However, S.C. completed its work that was published in 1930 in two volumes.
- S.C. report was rejected by INC as well as ML as its contents didn't satisfy either.

Q: What were the Delhi Proposals? [4]

Ans.

In the wake of growing communal violence, Jinnah organized an All Muslim Party Conference, on March 20, 1927, in Delhi. He presided over the session. It was aimed at safeguarding the political rights of the Muslims while attempting to improve relations with the Congress. The proposals included: making Sindh an independent province, political reforms in the NWF and Balochistan to grant them provincial status and one third seats for Muslims in the Central Legislative Assembly. The ML would drop its demand for separate Muslim electorates on the acceptance of these proposals. These would later become part of Jinnah's fourteen points.

Q: What was the Simon Commission Report? [4]

Ans. The Conservative government sent a constitutional commission of seven members headed by Sir John Simon in 1927. The Simon Commission prepared a report amidst opposition by the major Indian political parties. It recommended a federal form of government for India, abolition of diarchy and separate electorates for Muslims but no one third Muslim seats in the government it also opposed making Sindh and the NWF as provinces. INC and ML rejected it and the Nehru Report was prepared in its response in 1928.

Q: Why was the Simon Commission sent to India? [7]

Ans. While introducing the 1919 Act the British had promised to review the Act after ten years. However, after the Khilafat Movement, the communal violence in India became so serious by 1927 that it threatened any cooperation between Hindus and Muslims. Major Indian parties had already rejected the 1919 Act and wanted fresh political reforms. The Indians wanted a greater degree of provincial autonomy by abolishing the confusing clause of Diarchy of the 1919 Act. The Conservative Government, therefore, decided to advance the date of reviewing the 1919 Act by two years.

Moreover, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India feared a defeat of the Conservative Party in the upcoming elections, and thought that the Labour Party might grant too many political concessions to the Indians. The ruling Conservative Party government usually was not in favour of accepting most of the demands of the Indians. The Labour Party, on the other hand, was usually viewed relatively as more sympathetic towards the Indian question.

Therefore, the Conservative Government constituted a committee of seven members of the British Parliament under Sir John Simon in 1927. It also included Clement Attlee of the Labour Party, who would become committed to Indian independence in 1934. The Simon Commission reached India by the start of 1928 and prepared a set of proposals for the future constitution of India. The report was, however, rejected by the major political parties of India.

Q: Why was the Simon Commission Report rejected?

[7]

Ans.

The Simon Commission Report did not satisfy the major political parties of India. In fact, all the seven members of the Commission were British. The INC and the ML, therefore, rejected the team by declaring it an “all white body”. The Indians wanted their participation in the process of making the future constitution for India but Lord Birkenhead had predicted the disunity among Indians would foil all efforts of the Commission. So, all major political parties of India took it as an insult to their self respect, and rejected the Commission and its report.

In February 1928, the Commission was confronted by several protesters in Pondicherry. Similar protests were organised in several other cities. A strike began, and many people turned out to greet the Commission with black flags. A prominent Indian nationalist Lala Lajpat Rai led a huge protest in Lahore. He was beaten by the police very harshly, and died of the engeries in November 1928.

The recommendations of the Report failed to satisfy the major political parties because they were not acceptable to either the INC or the ML in totality. The INC wanted a federal form of government with most of the powers with the Centre whereas the ML wanted a weak Central government with a greater degree of provincial autonomy. The ML also was disappointed as the Report recommended separate electorates for Muslims but did not favour one third Muslim seats in the central legislative assembly. The report also declared that there was no need of making Sindh and the NWF as new provinces.

New Pattern Question:

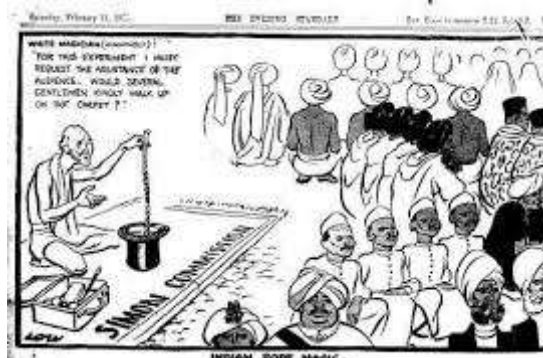
Source A (part 'a' of Q1): An excerpt from the speech of Jinnah against the Simon Commission:

"A constitutional war has been declared on Great Britain. Negotiations for a settlement are not to come from our side....We are denied equal partnership. We will resist the new doctrine to the best of our powers....I welcome Pandit Malaviya, and I welcome the hand of fellowship extended to us by Hindu leaders from the platform of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha...this offer is more valuable than any concession which the British Government can make."

Q: According to source A describe Jinnah's feelings about the Simon Commission. [3]

Ans. Jinnah is expressing his unwillingness to accept any British offer that Sir John Simon was going to make. He seems determined to resist the British in a legal way because of British denying Indians an equal share in the process of constitution making. He is ready to cooperate with the Hindu parties like the INC and the Hindu Mahasabha for the common cause.

Source B: (part b of Q1)



A cartoon about the Simon Commission, 1927.

Q: According to Source B describe the Indian feelings towards the Simon Commission. [5]

Ans. The cartoon depicts the Indian response to the Simon Commission in a sarcastic way. John Simon has been portrayed as a magician who is desperately trying to draw the attention of the uninterested audience. However, the audience seems to be deliberately oblivious to the tricks of the "magician". The audiences are the major political parties of India who already know that the British were in no mood to give any significant political concessions to them. That is why they are not attracted by whatever John Simon is going to offer. Their feelings are endorsed by Simon taking out a snake, symbolizing the British traditional cleverness, from the hat instead of a rabbit/any harmless creature. This would be followed by the Nehru Report, Jinnah's 14 points and the three Round Table Conferences, 1930-1932.

The Nehru report

CAUSES OF PRESENTATION

- It was presented in reply to criticism by lord Birkenhead secretary of state about disunity among Indians. He sharply criticized Indians while appointing Simon Commission.
- INC was not satisfied with the Simon Commission report, claimed to represent all Indians and so presented its own proposed constitutional scheme for the future of India.

CLAUSES OF THE REPORT:

- India to be a federation with two houses of parliament.
- Strong central government, limited provincial autonomy.
- No separate Muslim electorates, one third Muslim seats in centre (instead only one fourth seats)
- Sindh to be a province etc.
- These were made by the Nehru committee that was formed in the all parties conference organized by the INC but without strong Muslim representation. Nehru committee was headed by Motilal Nehru.
- The Muslim league rejected the Nehru report because:
 1. Muslim league wanted greater degree of provincial autonomy.
 2. They wanted separate electorates; as well as one third seats in the centre (as was agreed in the Lucknow Pact 1916)
 3. In the absence of Jinnah, no major Muslim leader was member of the Nehru committee.

Q: What was the Nehru Report? [4]

Ans. It was drafted by the Nehru Committee, headed by Mr. Motilal Nehru and approved by the All-Party Conference in September 1928. It asked for Dominion status or self-rule for India, a federal form of government with a bicameral parliament and Hindi as the official language of India. It also rejected the separate electorates for minorities though it recommended a system of reserved seats in the central parliament. This meant there would be no separate electorates or one third seats in the Central Government for Muslims. Gandhi gave a deadline of one year to the British to accept it. In January 1929, the All India Muslim Conference rejected the report.

Q: Why was the Nehru Report rejected? [7]

Ans. The Nehru Report ignored many political interests of the Indian Muslims. Although it had been drawn up by an All-Party Conference, there was no significant Muslim representation in the conference. Jinnah was in England to see his wife who was on her death bed. Only Sir Ali Imam and Shoaib Qureshi represented the Muslims but they were not major leaders of the ML. they, too, were perhaps forced to accept the report.

The Report asked for too many sacrifices from the Muslims. The INC was turning its back on the agreement it had made in the Lucknow Pact of 1916 by rejecting the separate electorate for Muslims and their one third seats in the Central Government. It also reiterated its old demand of making Hindi the official language. This negated the INC claim of representing and respecting all communities living in India.

Jinnah desperately tried to maintain the Hindu-Muslim unity by proposing four democratic amendments in the report in January 1929. He demanded one third Muslim seats in both the houses of the central legislature, Muslim seats in the Punjab and Bengal according to their size of population, residuary powers to be with the provinces, and making Sindh and the NWF as full provinces. Unfortunately, the INC did not accept these proposals and Jinnah very rightly termed it 'the parting of the ways'.

Q: What was Gandhi's Salt March? [4]

Ans. It marked the start of the second phase of the non-cooperation campaign of the INC. The British did not comply with the Nehru Report and, therefore, Gandhi was given charge of the campaign. He started his Salt March as part of his Satyagraha (truth-force) on 12 March 1930 from his Ashram (retreat) near Ahmedabad and marched for 24 days to reach the coastal town of Dandi. He was accompanied by thousands of his followers. Primarily its aim was to condemn the unfair Salt Laws of the British, but gradually it began to reject all unfair laws of the British rule. The British banned the INC and arrested several INC leaders including Gandhi and Nehru.

Q: What was Gandhi's 'Satyagraha' campaign? [4]

Ans. When the Khilafat Movement was gaining momentum, Gandhi developed a type of peaceful protest against the British, called the Satyagraha. It is a Hindi word meaning 'truth-force' and involves non-violent resistance. According to Gandhi, it meant putting one's soul against the tyrant, and therefore, had spiritual dimensions. Its supporters were required to have a high degree of self-sacrifice. It was demonstrated by sit-ins, peaceful strikes including hunger strike, protest marches and boycotts. Gandhi urged his followers to accept any torture by police as a way of self-purification. His Salt March was a part of it. Though Jinnah disagreed, the campaign gave Gandhi international fame.

New Pattern Question

Source A

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom.....We believe that if a government deprives a people of these rights, the people have a right to alter or abolish it.... The British government has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually.... We believe that India must sever the British connection and attain complete independence." (Part of the Declaration of Independence 26 January 1930)

Q: (a) According to source A what message Gandhi is conveying about the Indian aspirations? (3)

Ans. Gandhi is urging the Indian people to resist the political policies of the British by referring to their impact on all spheres of Indian life and economy. He is justifying any revolt or non-cooperation against the British on the basis of the atrocious policies of the British. He is inciting Indians to stop any kind of cooperation with the British.

Source B, a photograph of Gandhi's Salt March.



Q. (b) According to source B, describe Gandhi's aims and his impact on his followers. [5]

Ans.

The photograph shows one of the phases of the Salt March. Gandhi seems to be fully determined in mobilizing as many Indians as he could against the British. He and his followers are all wearing very simple dress of locally manufactured hand woven cotton. This reflects Gandhi's sense and message of Indian nationalism. At the same time, this hints towards

hatred against the British. The people led by Gandhi are all bare-footed like himself. This shows Gandhi's strong determination and commitment as he is oblivious to the hardships resulting from such acts. The Salt March was aimed at pressurising the British to reconsider their unfair salt laws. The photograph foretells the eruption of large scale violence and a strict British response that awaited Gandhi.

Jinnah's 14 Points, 1929

Reasons:

- NR (Nehru Report) asked for too many sacrifices-----no separate electorates, 1/3 seats for Muslims, as agreed in Lucknow Pact.
- Refusal of INC to three amendments in NR proposed by Jinnah.
- Basis of: 1. any future negotiations with INC/British, 2. Future demand for separated Muslim homeland (1940).

Details:

- January 1929, ML (Muslim League) session Dehli, 14 point by Jinnah.
- 14 points unified various factions of Muslims.
- 14 points were formally accepted, March 1929.

Q: What were Jinnah's 14 Points?

[4]

Ans.

In January 1929, Jinnah presented his 14 Points in the ML session in Delhi and they were formally accepted in March 1929. Jinnah demanded maximum safety of political rights of all minorities, especially Muslims. He demanded one third Muslim seats in the Central Government, preservation of the existing provincial boundaries and no acceptance of a law about any community unless it was approved by three fourth members of the same community.

Q: Why did Jinnah present his 14 Points in 1929?

[7]

Ans.

They were presented in response to the Nehru Report. Jinnah wanted to maximally safeguard the political rights of Indian Muslims. Earlier, the Nehru Report drafted by and the All-Parties Conference greatly disappointed Jinnah. It asked for too many sacrifices from Muslims. It rejected the separate electorates for Muslims as well as one third Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly. It only promised reserved seats and religious liberty for all minorities. Moreover, his four proposed amendments in the Nehru Report had been rejected by the INC.

Jinnah, therefore, wanted to lay down the basis of any future negotiations with the INC or the British. He demanded adequate Muslim share in all the legislatures, the government and state services. Since the 14 points were presented shortly after the rejection of the Nehru Report, it was evident that the gulf between Hindus and Muslims was getting unbridgeable. This meant that events would be moving towards a separatist movement as the 14 points contained so many demands for the safety of the Muslims.

This way, they would eventually become the basis of the demand of Pakistan in 1940 by the ML. Jinnah had tried his best to work together with the INC but its leadership always adopted an uncompromising attitude. While unfolding these points in January 1929, Jinnah had adopted a threatening tone by saying, "No scheme for the constitution of the Government of India will be acceptable unless all the following basic principles are given effect to." Thus, these fourteen points became an essential part of the manifesto/objectives of ML.

Q: The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was the only beacon of hope for Hindu-Muslim Unity between 1914 and 1930. Do you agree? [14]

Ans.

The Lucknow Pact was signed in 1916. In 1913, the Muslim League added self-rule to its demands on the advice of Jinnah, and it shared a common ground with INC. In 1916, both parties held their annual sessions jointly in Lucknow. Due to the support of Jinnah from the League and Mahajan from the Congress, the Lucknow Pact was drawn up. The Congress agreed for separate Muslims electorates and 1/3rd Muslim seats in the Centre. There would be a protection of minorities and all provinces would have provincial autonomy. No law could be passed if 3/4th of the members did not support it. The pact was a move towards self-rule and brought the Muslims and Hindus together for the first time in a cordial atmosphere. The Muslim rights were protected and this way the INC showed an accommodative attitude towards Muslims. The pact was high water mark for Hindu Muslim unity.

In 1909, the Morley-Minto reforms had promised more governing powers to the Indians. Therefore, in 1919, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms gave some more powers and share in the councils/assemblies to the Indians. They proposed a system of two houses for the Central Legislature. It introduced a system of 'Diarchy' in provinces. According to this, the 'transferred' subjects (education, healthcare and agriculture) were to be given to the Indians and 'reserved' subjects (finance, law, justice and foreign relations) were left with the governors. Although the number of voters increased, the system was discriminatory. The reforms disappointed both the League and Congress and both still did not have substantial power. Hence, the Mont-Ford Reforms kept the Hindus and Muslims together as both had opposed them.

The Khilafat Movement, 1919-1924, also brought Muslims and Hindus on one platform after Gandhi's decision to support Muslims through his non-cooperation movement. The ML, however, did not support the Khilafat Movement practically. Moreover, there were incidents of Hindu-Muslims riots after Gandhi withdrew his support following the violent incident Chauri Chauri.

In May 1928, members of all the political parties met in an All-Party Conference to draft the constitution, which the INC thought could govern India. It was drawn up by Pundit Motilal Nehru in September 1928 and was called the Nehru report. It included demand for immediate dominion status for India; a two chamber-parliament; the protection of minorities through a system of reserving seats but no 1/3rd seats for Muslims and no separate Muslim electorates. It also recommended federal form of government but with a strong centre and limited provincial autonomy. The recommendations of the Nehru report were a disappointment for the Muslims as they asked for too many sacrifices from them. The three main points, including the introduction of Hindi as a National Language were against the Muslims. Therefore, Jinnah commented on it by saying that it marked "parting of the ways".

In 1929, Jinnah put forward the 14 points in an answer to the Nehru report. Before these 14 points, he had proposed 3 very reasonable amendments to the Nehru Report. These points were introduced to protect the political rights of Muslims. In the 14 points Jinnah demanded for the federal form of government, provincial autonomy, Muslims representation by 1/3 seats in all cabinets and no law about a community to be approved without 3/4th members of the same community in the legislative assembly approving it. These 14 points were opposed by the Congress, because they clearly reflected the political aspirations of the Muslims. Thus it was an occasion of failed Hindu-Muslim relations though Jinnah still believed in joint struggle.

Hence, it can be concluded that Lucknow pact was the only beacon of hope. Not only did it unite Muslims and Hindus in 1916, it demonstrated the possibility of a united front against the British by the two largest communities of India. Such a spirit would never be seen again in future.

The RTCs 1930-1932

Why held

- Primarily, to review SC report since its rejection by major Indian parties; to draft future constitution of India in presence of Indian leaders
- INC absent in 1st RTC; so, another RTC necessary
- Deadlock between Jinnah & Gandhi in 2nd RTC, over the issue of rights of minorities; so, another RTC was needed & thus, a total of 3 RTC's.

Why 2nd RTC unsuccessful:

- Labour party lost the elections; new coalition govt less keen in resolving political, communal and constitutional issues of India.
- Gandhi's inflexible attitude on the question of rights of minorities; not ready to grant constitutional protection to minorities.

Details and Results of RTC's

1st RTC:

- Nov 1930, attended by Labour Party, state princes & ML (Jinnah, Aga Khan & Muhammad Ali Johar).
- **Successes:** Agreement on federal form of govt (Representative govts in provinces)
- Assurances by state princes to be part of federation if protection guaranteed.
- **Failures:** INC absent; Gandhi in jail for his non-cooperation movement.
- No major progress about princely states.

2nd RTC:

- Sep-Dec 1931:
- Jinnah, Gandhi, Iqbal, Aga Khan
- March 1931, Gandhi-Irwin Pact to ensure his participation.

Successes:

- ML & INC present, discussed various issues including the rights of minorities
- Abolition of diarchy; 3 new provinces: Sindh, NWFP & Orissa.

Failures:

- Deadlock b/w Gandhi & Jinnah over the rights of minorities
- New coalition govt in England less enthusiastic in RTC's.

3rd RTC,

- Nov 1932
- New Viceroy Lord Willington; non-cooperation re-started & Gandhi, Nehru were arrested, Jan 1932
- Communal Award by PM MacDonald, Aug 1932; INC rejected ML accepted.

Successes:

- Attended by 46 delegates including Sir Aga Khan
- Only some discussion about future of India.

Failures:

- No major leaders / parties; Jinnah went into exile from politics, disillusioned by the pace of events, Gandhi imprisoned for his non-cooperation movement.
- NO state prince & so, no major progress

Q Why was it necessary to hold three RTCs?

Or

Explain why there were three Round Table Conferences between 1930 and 1932. [7]

Ans.

The Indian political community rejected the Simon Commission Report of 1927. The Congress and the Muslim League both refused to accept the recommendations of the Simon Commission. Different political parties gave vent to their feelings different ways. The Indian political situation seemed deadlocked. The British government refused to contemplate any form of self-government for the people of India. This caused frustration among the masses, who often expressed their anger in violent clashes. This political chaos forced British to come up with some decisions so, in order to review the Simon Commission Report, they announced the holding of an RTC which was held between November 1930 – January 1931. It was attended by Muslim League but not the INC because Gandhi was in jail for his non-cooperation movement.

In the absence of INC, the largest political party of India, it was not possible to make any major decision regarding the future constitution of India. Gandhi was, at that time, the most prominent spokesman and leader of the INC. Therefore, some arrangements had to be made to involve him in the political proceedings organized by the British in England. Lord Irwin met Gandhi in jail and persuaded him to call off his non-cooperation movement. Both reached a settlement called the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of March 1931. Under this Gandhi was released and allowed to go to London to attend the second RTC.

The second RTC was held September – December 1931. After some successful rounds of talks there was deadlock between the Gandhi and Jinnah over the issue of the rights of minorities. Jinnah wanted concrete constitutional protection of minorities but Gandhi insisted that granting of religious liberty to the minorities would be sufficient. Both leaders firmly stuck to their guns and the RTC failed. Therefore, one more RTC was needed that was held in November – December 1932 in order to reach some consensus about the future Constitution of India. However, this conference was held only as a formality because the Labour Party, that had been enthusiastic for the conferences, had been replaced by a national government after the elections. It was attended by only 46 delegates including Allama Iqbal and Sir Agha Khan representing the Muslims.

Q: What was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact?

[4]

Ans. Gandhi could not attend the first Round Table Conference of November 1930, as he was in jail. The Viceroy Lord Irwin wanted his participation in the next RTC. So, he held a number of meetings with Gandhi in February 1931 and urged him to call off his non-cooperation movement. Finally, Gandhi agreed and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed on 5th March 1931. Irwin promised to release most political prisoners and return the property seized by the government during the protests of the non-cooperation movement. Gandhi also gave up his demand for full independence in return for a promise that in a federal India, Indians would have a genuine say in the government affairs.

Q: What was the Communal Award?

[4]

Ans. It was announced on 16th August 1932 by the British PM Ramsay MacDonald after the failure of the second RTC as he wanted to resolve the political crisis of India. It gave the right of separate electorates to all the minorities in India and the principle of weightage was also applied. Though, Muslim majority in Bengal and Punjab was reduced, the ML accepted it in order to reach a political settlement for the future of India. The INC rejected it and Gandhi protested against the declaration of the Untouchables as a minority. He began a strike of Maran Bharatt (fasting unto death).

Q Why was the Second Round Table Conference of 1931 unsuccessful?
[7]

Ans. The second conference was held from September – December 1931. Gandhi was able to attend the RTC as a result of the Gandhi – Irwin Pact of March 1931. Muslims were represented by Sir Aga Khan, Allama Iqbal and Jinnah. During the talks Gandhi adopted a very rigid and inflexible attitude regarding the issue of minorities in India. He insisted that religious liberty was enough for all the minorities whereas Jinnah demanded an adequate constitutional protection of all minorities including Muslims. In other words Gandhi stood by the Nehru Report and further worsened the atmosphere by claiming to represent the INC and to speak for all Indians including Muslims. This stance of Gandhi annoyed both Allama Iqbal and Jinnah who firmly held their viewpoint of safeguarding the rights of Muslims. By the time the second RTC was held, the Labour Government, that had been enthusiastic about the RTCs, had now been replaced by a coalition or national government dominated by the Conservative Party. The Conservatives were not much interested in the proceeding of the RTC and their lack of interest also contributed towards the failure of second RTC. Hence, the communal issue was once again postponed leading to a deadlock. Therefore, the only major outcome was the creation of two Muslim majority provinces, Sindh and the NWFP (now KPK).

Q: How successful were the three RTC's of 1930 – 1932?

Or

The three RTC's achieved little. Do you agree? Explain your answer.

Or

The first RTC of 1930 was more successful than those of 1931 and 1932. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Ans: The RTC's were held in London. The first RTC was held in November 1930 at the House of Parliament London. It was attended by 89 delegates including Mr. Jinnah and Sir Aga Khan. The purpose was to review the Simon Commission Report. The RTC was successful because federal form of government for India was approved and the state princes promised to join the federation of India on the condition of protection of their rights. However, its main failure was the absence of INC as Gandhi was in jail for his non-cooperation movement. INC wanted a guarantee of implementing everything agreed in the RTC such a guarantee could not be given. In the absence of INC no major decision could be reached. Also, there was no significant progress on the details of the federal form of government and the reservations of the princely states.

In order to include the INC, Lord Irwin met Gandhi in jail to persuade him to cooperate with the British. Both reached an agreement, the Gandhi–Irwin Pact, signed in March 1931 under which Gandhi called off his non-cooperation movement and was allowed to attend the Second RTC that was held in September - December 1931. It was successful in the sense that all important political parties and leaders attended it. They included, Jinnah, Iqbal, Sir Aga Khan, Gandhi and state princes. Also three new provinces were created, Orissa, Sindh and the NWFP/KPK. Diarchy was shifted from provinces to the Centre. However, the RTC had failures too. Firstly the deadlock between Gandhi and Jinnah over the question of rights of minorities. Gandhi refused to provide any special protection to minorities and suggested that religious liberty was sufficient for them. He also insisted that the INC alone represented all Indians. Jinnah and other Muslim leaders were infuriated over the stubborn attitude of Gandhi. Another failure was the replacement of Labour Government by a national government dominated by Conservative party that was not very much concerned about the RTC. Instead the British want that if Indians did not reach a consensus, the British would impose their own terms.

Before the third RTC the British PM Ramsay MacDonald, announced the communal award in 1932. This was about the representation of minorities. INC rejected it but ML accepted it though the Muslim majority in Punjab and Bengal was reduced. The third RTC was held in November 1932 but was attended by only 46 delegates with Muslims being represented by Sir Aga Khan and Iqbal. The only success of the third RTC was that it was held against all odds and that it was attended by some delegates including the Muslims. The failures of this RTC therefore outnumbered the successes. Gandhi had started his non-cooperation movement once again and was jailed. Jinnah had quit politics temporarily to start his law practice in London. Interestingly, he was not even invited to attend the RTC, but he did not miss much.

In the final analysis, it may be concluded that the three RTC's were on the whole successful because they provided a neutral venue to all the Indian leaders to discuss the future constitution of India. Also, based on the proceedings of the RTC's, the government of India Act 1935 was implemented which was a very comprehensive document as both Pakistan and India made their constitutions to a great extent on the basis of the same.

1935 Act

The Govt of India Act 1935

- Details of RTC's & proposals of British govt were published as a "White Paper", March 1933.
- Discussed and approved by British parliament, Dec 1934
- Aug 1935, the Bill became Govt of India Act 1935.

Contents:

- India to be a federation (federal form of govt) with Brit Indian provinces + states willing to join it
- Two houses of parliament (bicameral set up) with an upper house (Council of State) & lower house (Legislative Assembly).
- Elected members from provinces, nominated from states
- Some reserved subjects with Viceroy (e.g. defence, foreign affairs etc), others with the provincial administration
- Diarchy shifted from provinces to the centre; greater degree of provincial autonomy.
- 3 new provinces: Sindh, NWFP & Orissa
- Viceroy (Governor General) head of federation with special powers; governors also had special powers – could dismiss provincial govt & declare emergency.
- No. of voters increased; 25% of total population.
- The part related to the central govt was never implemented because of rejection by princes.

Indian Reaction

- ML & INC rejected & criticized the Act
- Nehru: "Charter of Slavery" ; " a machine with strong brakes but without an engine"
- Jinnah: "thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad & totally unacceptable".
- State princes resented loss of power the Act would entail
- Apparently, greater share & powers for Indians, real powers were still with the British e.g. Viceroy & governors could use emergency powers.
- Property qualification restricted the number of voters so, only 25% of total population could vote.

Importance of the Act

- An important step towards independence as it became the basis for future negotiations that would pave the way for the British departure.
- Federal & parliamentary system ensured greater Indian powers & representation in govt.
- 3 new provinces, out of which 2 were Muslim majority – good for Muslims.

Q: What was the Government of India Act 1935? [4]

Ans. After discussing the summary of the three RTCs in the British Parliament, the Government of India Act 1935 was passed in August 1935. It introduced a federal form of government for India with an upper house, the Council of State and a lower house, the Legislative Assembly. Diarchy was shifted to the Centre. A greater degree of provincial autonomy was given and three new provinces were created: Sindh, the NWFP and Orissa. Right of vote was given to 25 % of the Indians. The real powers were still with the British as the Viceroy could veto any law made by the provinces. It was sharply criticized by both the ML and the INC.

Q: Why was the Government of India Act 1935 so important to the future of the Sub-continent? [7]

Ans. The Government of India Act 1935 was the last major legislation that the British government passed before independence was granted. It was very important because Federal form of government and a kind of parliamentary system meant that British were pressurized to grant India self rule. The provincial governments were, to a great extent self governing units except for the emergency powers of the Governors and the Viceroy. The Central Assembly and the Council of States were greatly enlarged by including more Indians.

A 5 times increase in the number of voters ensured that more Indians, 25% of total population including 5 million women, had the right to elect their own representatives as compared to the previous number of voters, though 3/4th of the total population was still deprived of this right. This increase was, however, strengthened by the creation of three new provinces – Sindh, the NWFP, (both Muslim majority provinces) and Orissa. Thus an increase in the number of provinces was coupled with increased degree of provincial autonomy. Thus India was seen to be nearing independence.

This Act laid the basis of future negotiations between the Indians and the British and thus paved the way for India eventually getting decolonized from the British rule. The Princes States could decide to participate in political affairs for the first time. Most importantly, the Act was such a comprehensive and effective document that both India and Pakistan would base their respective constitutions on this document.

Q Why did Indians reject the Government of India Act 1935? Why was there so much opposition to the Government of India Act of 1935?

[7]

Ans.

The Government of India Act 1935 was opposed by the major Indian political parties. For them many of its clauses did not grant Indians the powers they had expected. The main reason for its rejection was that Indians demanded complete independence but the British retained real powers such as the foreign relations and defence that Indians wanted to have under their control. Thus in reality, the British very cleverly maintained their control on the key positions in the Indian government.

Moreover, the provincial ministers were apparently given more control over all departments, the Governors of the provinces could interfere with the provincial governments in the name of emergency. The state of emergency could only be declared by a provincial governor. The Governors could veto any legislation made by the Indians that they thought was against the interests of the British. This meant the Indians were given much lesser powers than they had expected.

Though the number of voters was increased by five times, 3/4th of Indians were still deprived of voting right due to the strict property qualification. Thus a great majority of Indians were not empowered to decide their future by electing representatives of their choice. The state princes also resented the loss of their powers. Due to these reasons both ML and INC opposed the Act and sharply criticized it. According to Jinnah it was simply “thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable”. Nehru, initially declared the Act as “Charter of Slavery” and later on became more sarcastic by saying “it is like a machine with strong brakes but no engine.” This shows how much disappointed the major political parties were with the Act.

Q: Which of the following was the most important in the development of the Pakistan Movement:

- (i) 14 points of M.A Jinnah**
- (ii) Gov. of India Act of 1935**
- (iii) Simon Commission**

[14]

Ans. The Pakistan Movement was a historic political movement which was aimed to break from the independent nation-state, Pakistan. Many leaders and political figures rose and spoke for the formation of Pakistan. They brought a sense of realization amongst the people about Pakistan. In the face of such criticism, faced from the British and the Hindus, they still remained steadfast and led to such circumstances which made the creation and development of the Pakistan Movement inevitable. The political reforms such as the Simon Commission of 1927 also played some role in the development of the Pakistan Movement. It was a commission sent to the sub-continent by Sir Simon in order to negotiate with Hindus and Muslims and to come up with a set of reforms accepted by both parties. It was a response of the 1919 reforms. But it also met the same fate like the previous reforms and was rejected. But, in its failure was also hidden success for the Muslims. It led to the drawing up of the Nehru Report which proved to be an eye-opener for the Muslims.

In 1929, Jinnah came up with his fourteen points. This effort of Mr. Jinnah was the golden key which opened the door to the Pakistan Movement. They were to be the basis of the Muslim League's position in any future negotiations with the Congress. In this he asked for a future constitution to be federal, but giving provincial autonomy. He asked to safeguard the rights of Muslims in all territory expanded areas. Although no demand for separate homeland was made, yet it brought political perception among the Muslims which proved very vital for the years to come ahead.

Later in 1935 the Government of India Act was passed and was the last major legislation that the British passed before the final independence. The most salient upshot of this Act was that provincial governments became in effect self-governing and were no longer controlled by the British. Although the British had no intention of giving up India, their power over the provinces was weakening and Independence came closer. This was significant for the Muslims as now they could fight for their rights. It was very important in the history as it provided negotiations which finally resulted in British leaving India.

To recapitulate, I infer from these details that the Fourteen Points of Mr. Jinnah were the most important in the development of the Pakistan Movement. There's an ample evidence that supports this fact. The Muslim League united in support of these demands. These points prepared the Muslims of India for a bold step to struggle for freedom. The vital role of these points can be judged by the fact that these points were presented in the Round Table Conference of 1930.

Q: Was the introduction of Jinnah's 14 points in 1929 the most important factor in the development of the Pakistan Movement between 1928 and 1935? Give reasons for why you might agree or disagree? [14]

Ans. In 1929, Jinnah came up with his fourteen points which were in response of the Nehru Report of 1928. ML had rejected the Nehru Report as it asked for too many sacrifices. It rejected the separate Muslim electorates and one third Muslim seats in the Central Government. Jinnah proposed three amendments to the report but the INC did not accept them. In his fourteen points Jinnah asked for maximum safeguarding of political rights of Muslims. He demanded that there should be one third Muslim seats in the Centre and the existing provincial boundaries should not be changed. He also proposed that no law about a community should be enforced without three fourth members of the same community in the legislative assembly approving it. These 14 points became the basis of any future negotiation with the INC or the British and gradually evolved into a demand for Pakistan in March 1940.

In 1928, the British asked the local people to frame a constitution for themselves. In response, the INC presented the Nehru Report. It was a purely Congress document as it rejected the Muslim right of separate electorates and their one third representation in the Center. Jinnah proposed three amendments to it but the INC rejected them. A positive aspect of the Report was that it resulted in the unity of the divided Muslim groups.

The British invited the Indians in the three Round Table Conferences, 1930-1932. Despite a deadlock between Gandhi and Jinnah, all parties agreed on a number of important clauses for the future constitutional reform for India. Based on the recommendations of the three RTCs, the Government of India Act 1935 was passed. It was the last package of political reforms introduced by the British before the independence of India. It introduced a greater degree of provincial autonomy, federal form of government for India and shifting the diarchy from provinces to the Centre. Sindh, the NWFP and Orissa were given provincial status, making a total of eleven provinces in India. It allowed 25% Indians to exercise their right of vote which was a significant increase as compared to that for the 1919 Act. Though it was sharply criticized by Nehru and Jinnah, both accepted it because the British had announced elections for the provincial assemblies.

Elections were held for the provincial assemblies in 1937. The ML did not perform well in the elections and the INC was able to form its ministries in eight provinces. The two and a half year long INC rule was marked by several anti Muslim atrocities committed by the INC ministries. Muslims, therefore, got united after the end of the INC rule in 1939.

To conclude, it can be said that the introduction of Jinnah's 14 points in 1929 was the most important factor in the development of the Pakistan Movement as they represented the deep rooted fear among Muslims about a possible Hindu-dominated India. By asking for so many political safeguards for Muslims, it became apparent that ML was preparing itself for the partition of India.

Elections 1937

- ML & INC didn't approve the 1935 Act; accepted it due to elections, Jan-Feb 1937, for provincial assemblies only
- Jinnah's return, 1934; permanent president of ML; still hoped some Hindu-Muslim unity after the elections but Nehru unwilling.

Results:

- INC won absolute majority in 5 provinces; formed govt in 8 provinces (including NWFP)
- ML: 109/482 seats reserved for Muslims; performed a little better in the Muslim minority provinces.

Importance of the Elections

- First major elections; various factions of ML got united
- ML learned a lot about election campaign organization & planning; how to approach the voters
- It realized: **(1)** its support lay in Muslim minority areas; no threat of Hindu domination in Muslim majority provinces; it would eventually make inroads in these provinces **(2)** it had an 'image problem' – a party dominated by the elite Muslims e.g., princes, Nawabs etc, whereas INC was popular among all socio-economic segments of society.

Q: Why were the 1937 elections important for the ML? (7)

Ans. The 1937 elections taught ML important lessons. Despite opposing the 1935 Act, both ML and INC accepted it as both decided to contest the elections for provincial assemblies that were to be held under the Act. ML did not perform well in the elections as compared to INC. Out of 489 Muslim seats the ML won only 109, though it captured a number of seats in the Hindu majority provinces. These were the first major elections contested by ML that gained good experience of launching the election campaign and creating a good vote bank. Jinnah had little time to re-organized a highly disorganized ML and so, the ML leaders realized how organized INC was.

ML also realized that it had the 'image problem'. For most of Muslims, the ML was a party of the elite Muslim community dominated by rich Muslim landed aristocrats. INC on the other hand, had been a party popular among all segments and socio-economic classes of India. Jinnah, therefore, would make hectic efforts 1937 onwards to overcome this image problem so that ML could make inroads into all classes and spheres of India.

The elections told ML of the importance of winning seats in Hindu majority provinces because there was no fear of Hindu domination in the Muslim majority provinces. Votes from Hindu majority provinces were crucial for ML because they reflected the growing political awareness and fear of Hindu domination in the Muslims of these provinces. ML could use these votes to prove its claim of representing all Indian Muslims. This way the INC claim of 'an all Indian party' could be effectively countered.

Q: What were the outcomes of the provincial elections of 1937? [4]

Ans. The ML won only 109 seats while the INC got absolute majority in 5 provinces and became the single largest party in 4 other provinces by getting 707 seats. The ML realized that it had to overcome the "image problem" and reorganise itself for the future elections. The INC committed several atrocities against Muslims by introducing the Wardha Scheme, compulsory singing of the Bande Matram, an anti-Muslim nationalistic song of Hindus and showing disregard to the mosques and the congregational prayers.

Q. How successful were the provincial elections held in India in 1937? Explain your answer. [10/14]

Ans.

Though the INC and ML did not approve of the 1935 Act, they decided to participate in the 1937 elections. Nehru, gradually unfolded the INC aims by saying, "**The Congress can carry its message to the millions of voters and scores of millions of the disenfranchised, to acquaint them with our future programme and policy.**" The results of the elections were shocking for the ML as the INC got a massive victory by winning 707 seats out of a total of 1585 seats. It was the single largest party in four while it had an absolute majority in five more provinces. It claimed to be the sole representative of all the Indians as it was able to rule many major provinces. It was invited to form governments in the United Provinces (UP), the Central Provinces (CP), Bihar, Orissa, Madras (Chennai), Bombay (Mumbai), and later, Assam and the NWFP (KPK). Thus it formed ministries in these provinces.

However, the Congress alienated the ML after the elections as it asked the victorious ML members to join the INC. It refused to cooperate with the ML where the latter was the largest single party. The INC agreed to the Muslims forming the government as long as they were not the members of the ML. Its claim to represent the whole of India further frustrated the Muslims. Once Nehru was assured by Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, that the provincial governors would not use their special powers to interfere in the provincial governments, he asked the INC to form cabinets in 8 provinces. It soon introduced a series of measures which threatened Muslim culture and political interests. Singing of *Bande Matram*, the Hindu nationalistic song was made compulsory before the start of official business in the morning. Gandhi's educational policy, the Wardha Scheme and the Congress tyranny drove a wedge in any possible Hindu-Muslim unity.

These were the first major elections for the ML, and they unified various factions of the ML. It learned a great deal about how to launch election campaign and contest elections. It realized the need of improving its organization and planning. It decided to seek more support from the Muslim minority provinces as there was no threat of Hindu domination in the Muslim majority provinces. It also realized that it had to overcome its 'image problem' as it was generally seen to be a party of the elite Muslims. Most of its leaders were aristocrats and princes.

Performance of the ML was disappointing as it won only 109 out of the 482 seats reserved for the Muslims, about 25% of the total Muslim seats. The INC, due to its strong leadership, managed to get 26 Muslim seats, too. In the Punjab it got just 1 seat out of a total of 86 Muslim seats. Majority of the seats, 101 were swept away by the Unionist Party that was friendly towards the INC. The Khalsa Party of the Sikhs, and the INC also bagged some seats in the Punjab. Similarly, in the NWFP 7 seats were won by the Hindu-Sikh Nationalists.

Moreover, the Muslims felt betrayed by the British who they thought were mainly concerned with giving the INC an opportunity to form governments without considering the Muslim rights. The British apathy towards the anti-Muslim policies of the INC in various provinces further disappointed the Muslims. They developed a sense of insecurity in a Hindu dominated India.

It may be concluded that the poor performance of the ML, and the INC rule came as a blessing in disguise for the Muslims. The INC policies strengthened the Muslim nationalism, and justified a demand for a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims. The ML got a chance to bring Muslims on its platform. Therefore, the elections were quite successful for the two major political parties of India.

The INC Rule 1937-39

- INC victory in the 1937 elections
- INC ministries in 8 out of 11 provinces

- Nehru got assurance from Viceroy Lord Linlithgow about governors not using special powers to interfere with the provincial matters.
- In areas of ML victory, INC's condition of ML members to leave ML.
- A series of anti-Muslim policies under the INC rule:

Bande Matram:

- Hindu nationalist song with anti-Muslim expressions; compulsory singing in morning in provincial assemblies; Muslims felt offended & worried about their future.

The Wardha Scheme:

- Gandhi's educational scheme; spinning cotton by hand, part of teaching in schools; no religious education; Hindi, medium of education; compulsory bowing before Gandhi's portrait in schools for all students; for Muslims, it was anti-Islamic; fear of imposition of Hinduism.

INC tyranny:

- Ban on beef in some places; ban on & disturbance of Azaan; attacks on mosques during congregational prayer; pushing pigs into mosques during prayers; local authorities were biased against Muslims; no complaints of Muslims were entertained; attacks on Muslim houses & anti-Muslim riots; hoisting INC flag with the Union Jack to show there were only 2 political powers in India; Muslims felt threatened about their cultural & political identity & importance.
- Linlithgow himself received reports of anti-Muslim measures from some places.
- Start of WW2, Sept 1939; INC ministers resigned; Muslims celebrated "Day of Deliverance" on Jinnah's call, 22 Dec 1939, to mark end of INC rule.

ML under INC rule

- Rejection of Jinnah's offer of INC-ML coalition, by INC
- Jinnah's massive campaign to awaken Muslims & warn them of the Hindu aim of establishing 'Hindustan'.
- Chief Ministers of Punjab, Bengal & Assam joined ML by 1938; membership of ML grew dramatically.
- INC began to recognize Jinnah but didn't accept ML as the only party representing Indian Muslims.
- On the whole, v. poor Hindu-Muslim relations by 1939.

Q: What was the INC Rule? [4]

Ans. The INC formed its ministries in 8 out of 11 provinces. It introduced series of measures which threatened Muslim culture and identity. An educational scheme, the Wardha Scheme, of Gandhi was implemented in the schools. Students were required to bow before Gandhi's portrait and any religious education and teaching in Urdu were banned. Singing of the Hindu nationalistic song, Bande Matram, was made compulsory in the morning assemblies. The INC flag was hoisted together with the Union Jack on various buildings. Azan was disturbed at many places and pigs were thrown in the mosques. When the INC ministers resigned in 1939, Muslims celebrated the Day of Deliverance on 22 December 1939.

Q: What was the Wardha Scheme? [4]

Ans. It was a part of the INC rule, 1937-1939. Gandhi introduced it as a Basic Education scheme at Wardha for the INC ministries. This scheme made Hindi the medium of education, removed any religious education and made cotton-spinning by hand a part of the school curriculum. In some schools of the CP (Central Provinces), Muslim students were required to bow before the portrait of Gandhi in a worship manner. Even the Urdu language was undermined under this policy. Thus it became evident that even with legal safeguards Muslims could not trust the INC to protect their rights. Therefore, it was one of the reasons of hatred against the INC rule.

Q: What was the Day of Deliverance? [4]

Ans.

After the resignation of all INC ministers, Jinnah called on the Muslim community to celebrate this on 22 December 1939. He appealed to all local, district and provincial branches of the ML to hold public meetings to support this declaration. He also appealed to celebrate the occasion in all gatherings in a peaceful and sober way. The INC objected to this celebration.

Q: Why was the INC rule hated so much? / Why did Muslims celebrate the Day of Deliverance at the end of the INC rule? [7]

Ans. The INC introduced many anti-Muslim policies. Under Gandhi's Wardha Scheme, hand spinning of cotton was made part of the school curriculum and Hindi was enforced as the medium of education in various provinces. Religious education was banned and, in some places, Muslim pupils were required to bow before Gandhi's portrait in a worship manner. This was against the fundamental beliefs and practices of Muslims. Singing of Bande Matram was made compulsory in the morning assemblies. It was a Hindu nationalistic song composed in Bengali by Mr. Bankim Chatterji and Muslims considered it contained anti-Muslim expressions. Since Muslim students were also compelled to sing it, Muslims began to realise that in a Hindu-dominated independent India they would not be secure and their survival would be difficult. At many places, the Azan was disturbed by playing loud music while pigs were pushed into the mosques during the congregational prayers. Similarly, slaughtering cow and eating beef were banned in the Hindu majority areas and Muslims were abused and killed by the extremist Hindus. At many state and semi-state buildings the tri-colour INC flag was hoisted together with the Union Jack in order to convey a message that there were only two political powers, the British and the INC. Muslims felt their political

interests endangered by such measures. With the start of the WW-II, when the INC ministers resigned, Muslims on the call of Mr. Jinnah celebrated the Day of Deliverance on 22 December 1939.

Q: Was the main reason why Congress rule (1937 – 1939) was hated so much because of the Bande Matram? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans: INC introduced a number of anti-Muslim policies. Muslims hated INC rule so much that at the end of INC rule they celebrated the Day of Deliverance on 22nd December 1939. After taking charge in July 1937, Congress declared Bande Matram as the national anthem. This was a Bengali song composed by Bankim Chatterji and it meant "Hail you O' motherland". It contained anti Muslim sentiments through which Hindus were encouraged to expel Muslims from Hindustan through expressions peculiar exclusively to Hinduism. For example, it says, "Thou art Durga, Lady and Queen, with her hands that strike, and her swords of sheen; thou art Lakshmi lotus throned". This was not a Congress policy, but the singing of the song was made compulsory before the start of official business everyday in the provincial assemblies. This greatly offended the Muslims who began to feel that were being forced to become familiar with Hinduism.

A number of anti Muslim measures were adopted which were collectively called the INC tyrannies. The Congress flag was given the status of national flag by hoisting it together with the Union Jack. This was done to convey the message that there were only two political powers in India i.e. British and Congress. Muslims felt that INC was bent upon ignoring the political importance of Indian Muslims. Muslims were forbidden to eat beef and received harsh punishments and slaughtering of cows was prohibited. Muslims were not allowed to construct new mosques. Hindus would play drum in front of mosques during the deliverance of Azan and pigs were pushed into the mosques when Muslims were praying. Sometimes there were anti-Muslim riots in which Muslims were attacked and their houses and property set on fire. They also feared that if they lodged complaint against the Hindus, the local administration would act in favour of Hindus. Viceroy Lord Linlithgow himself admitted 'many instances of continued oppressions in small ways'. Muslims developed a strong fear about their religious and cultural traditions in case of a Hindu dominated India.

In the INC ruled provinces, the Wardha Scheme was implemented. It was an educational scheme based on Gandhi's views and introduced into all educational institutes. Under this, teaching was to be in Hindi. Spinning of cotton by hand was made part of curriculum in all schools. Religious education was banned for all students. Students, regardless of their religion, were expected to bow before the portrait of Gandhi in a worship manner. Muslims saw these measures as an attempt to subvert their love for Islam as their religion did not allow bowing before any image or portrait. A ban on Urdu and religious education inculcated insecurity among Muslims about their cultural identity.

It seems that the most important reason for hatred against the INC rule was the singing of Bande Matram /Vande Matram because through this song a kind of 'brain washing' campaign was launched against Muslims. They were being prepared to adapt to Hindu traditions, otherwise their survival in the independent India would be very difficult.

Q: Do you agree that the celebration of Day of Deliverance in 1939 was justified? Give reasons. [14]

Ans: Day of Deliverance was observed by Muslim League on 22nd December 1939 after the end of the INC ministers. After taking charge in July 1937, INC adopted an anti Muslim stance in the provinces under its rule. A number of anti Muslim measures were introduced which were collectively called the INC tyrannies. The Congress flag was given the status of national flag by hoisting it together with the Union Jack. This was done to convey the message that there were only two political powers in India i.e. British and Congress. Muslims felt that INC was bent upon ignoring the political importance of Indian Muslims. Muslims were forbidden to eat beef and received harsh punishments and slaughtering of cows was prohibited. Muslims were not allowed to construct new mosques. Hindus would play drum in front of mosques during the deliverance of Azan and pigs were pushed into the mosques when Muslims were praying. Sometimes there were anti-Muslim riots in which Muslims were attacked and their houses and property set on fire. Sometimes there were anti-Muslims riots in which Muslims were attacked and their houses and property set on fire. They also feared that if they lodged complaint against the Hindus, the local administration would act in favour of Hindus. Viceroy Lord Linlithgow himself admitted 'many instances of continued oppressions in small ways'. The Muslims developed a strong fear about their religious and cultural traditions in case of a Hindu dominated India.

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On the other hand, the celebration of the 'Day of Deliverance' was unjustified in a way as it deteriorated the relations between the INC and the ML. It was clear that now both parties could not work together which meant no further chance of a joint struggle for the independence of India. This indeed endorsed the British viewpoint that Indians were doomed to remain disunited.

The INC ministers had resigned with the sole purpose of pressurizing the British during the initial phase of the WWII so that the British, who desperately needed the Indian support, could be persuaded to negotiate for the independence of India. By distancing itself from the INC, the ML reduced the required pressure that could be exerted on the British who now concentrated on the war front getting rid of any chance of Hindu-Muslim united front during the war years.

In the final analysis it may be concluded that the celebration of the Day of Deliverance was not fully justified because by doing so the ML lost a good opportunity to drive the British out of India with the help of the INC. Retrospectively, if ML had not parted ways with the INC, the aim of achieving Pakistan might have been easily accomplished.

Q: How did Jinnah reorganize ML between 1937 and 1939? [7]

Ans.

After failing to unite Hindus and Muslims, Jinnah devoted himself to organize Muslims and bring them on the platform of Muslim League. At the Lucknow meeting of ML in October 1937, Jinnah urged the party members to build up support from the grass roots. He argued that in the 1937 elections the ML won seats in the areas where it had established its branches before 1937. He launched an aggressive campaign to increase the vote bank of the ML. He toured several cities to win support for the ML, and delivered convincing speeches in favour of the party. His efforts began to bear fruit, and its membership grew tremendously. By 1938, several thousand Muslims joined the ML including the Chief Minister of Bengal, Assam and Punjab.

Jinnah began to urge Muslims to seek political guidance from Islam. He advocated that Islam taught its followers liberty, equality and strong bonds of fraternity. This had a positive impact on the Muslims who could now see that their rights and cultural interests were seriously threatened by the INC. During its rule 1937-1939, the INC had significantly endorsed the views of Jinnah. Though the Muslim members of the INC criticized Jinnah's efforts and predicted his failure, he continued his efforts with a strong determination. At the annual meeting of the ML in 1938, a women's sub-committee was set up, led by Miss Fatimah Jinnah. This way Jinnah was able to involve Muslim women in the mission of the ML.

The INC was alarmed over this progress of the ML, and it began to recognize the importance of the ML. Arrangements were made for talks between Jinnah and Nehru, though the INC refused to accept Jinnah's stance that the ML alone was the representative of all Indian Muslims. Consequently, by 1939 Hindu-Muslim relations were quite strained. Therefore, the Muslims, on the call of Jinnah, quite justifiably celebrated the Day of Deliverance in December 1939 to mark the end of the INC rule. Finally, Jinnah was able to attract hundreds of thousands of Muslims to attend the historic session of the ML held in Lahore in March 1940. The ML representatives from the Muslim majority and minority provinces fully supported Jinnah's demand for a separate Muslim homeland.

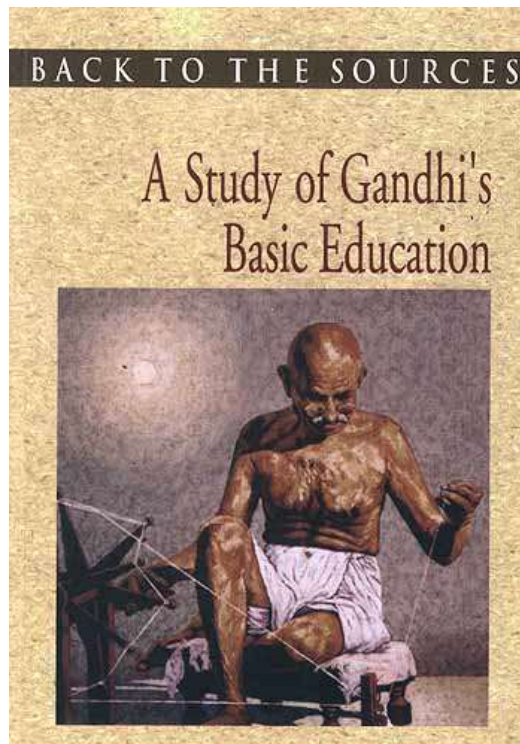
New Pattern Question

Source A Mr. Jinnah said, "We want our rights and we would only get our rights when the community with one voice, demands it. The Frontier Province is a predominantly Muslim province, 95 percent of the population being Muslims, but the Congress is ruling that province and the orders are issued from Wardha are carried out by the Frontier Government. This shows the depth of our degradation and inaction. The fact remains that the Congress is in power in seven provinces and the decisions are taken there by the majority which is invariably Hindu.

Q (a): According to source A describe Jinnah's views. [3]

Ans. Jinnah is drawing the attention of Muslims towards the INC rule specially in the Muslim majority province of the NWFP (now KPK) . He is expressing his concerns about the interests and rights of Muslims being undermined by the rule of a government of Hindu majority in such Muslim majority provinces. He is awakening the Muslims by alerting them about their disgrace in future if they continue to remain oblivious to such realities around them.

Source B



Q (b):What message is being delivered about Gandhi's Wardha Educational Scheme?

[5]

Ans.

The source shows the spinning of cotton by hand that was the basic component of Wardha scheme. Gandhi reflects the hardwork and dedication required for this. He has been shown working in peak summer heat of India as his body seems to be sweating profusely. However, he looks unaffected by this heat. This means he is urging his countrymen to adopt the custom of self-dependence for the ultimate goal of achieving independence. The purpose of implementing this scheme in the school curriculum was to target the young minds that are

more receptive and responsive to such messages. This can be seen from the determined look of Gandhi. The scheme would, however, become a major reason of hatred by Muslims against the INC rule.

Role of Allama Iqbal and Ch. Rehmat Ali in Shaping the Pakistan Movement

Allama Iqbal

- Born, 1877, Sialkot
- Educated in Sialkot, Lhr, Germany, Cambridge (England).
- 1922, Knighted by British
- 1926, member of Punjab Assembly
- 1930, presidential address of ML, Allahabad.
- 1931-32, attended 2nd & 3rd RTC.
- Philosopher – poet & political leader died 1938.

Importance of Allama Iqbal

- Delivered a historic address, 1930, Allahabad.
- Explained Muslim nationhood in the light of two nation theory.
- Predicted & hoped for the creation of a Muslim state (within or outside India) of NW Muslim majority Indian provinces.
- Gave hope & courage to Indian Muslims to direct their struggle towards a concrete goal.
- Source of inspiration for other leaders e.g. Ch. Rehmat Ali & Jinnah
- ML would adopt his views, March 1940 & so, he is “architect of Pakistan”.
- Also important for persuading Jinnah (though Liaqat Ali Khan also did the same) to return to India & lead the Indian Muslims as a political leader.

Q: Who was Allama Iqbal? [4]

Ans. He was a philosopher-poet born in Sialkot in 1877. He was knighted for his services by the British in recognition of his poetry. He was elected as a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1926. He gained unusual fame after his famous Allahabad address, 1930 that he delivered while presiding over the ML session in the absence of Jinnah. In this address he hinted at the possibility of a Muslim state comprising the north-western Muslim majority provinces of India. He represented Muslims in the second and third Round Table Conferences. He persuaded Jinnah to return to India to lead Muslims. He died in 1938 and Jinnah paid him rich tribute on the passage of Lahore Resolution in March 1940.

Q: Why was Dr. Allama Iqbal an important influence on the struggle for a separate homeland, Pakistan? [7]

Ans. Allama Iqbal was a philosopher – poet who eventually became a politician. He was knighted in 1922 in recognition of his poetry and later he was elected as member of Punjab Legislative Assembly later in 1926. In the absence of Jinnah, Iqbal presided over the historic session of ML and in December 1930 at Allahabad. He elaborated the two nation theory by highlighting the distinctive cultural, civilizational and historic features of the Muslim community. He spoke against the imperialistic powers of the West and said it was unfair to occupy lands of the independent people. He said, “European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups. I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state”. This way, Iqbal predicted as well as expressed his desire of the possibility of creation of a Muslim homeland in the North Western Muslim majority provinces of India. As a result communal division of India was seriously considered by many Muslims during the 1930’s.

Iqbal is also important because of his inspiring poetry that gradually infused the spirit of Muslim nationalism among Muslims who began to see a clear goal ahead of them. His poetry gave hope to the Muslims telling to them to be proud of their past and of their heritage. He believed that the British and the Hindus were equally opposed to the Muslim cause. Ch Rehmat Ali scheme of Pakistan was greatly influenced by the views of Allama Iqbal.

His efforts were strengthened by both Ch. Rehmat Ali and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It was Iqbal who had persuaded Jinnah to come back to India to lead the Muslim community. Therefore, Jinnah on the passage of Lahore Resolution in March 1940 paid rich tribute to Iqbal and wished if Iqbal had been alive to see his dream come true. Iqbal is rightly called the “Architect of Pakistan” as well as the first leader from the ML to have dreamed of a separate Muslim homeland.

Q: Why was Dr Allama Muhammad Iqbal was asked to chair the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930? [7]

Ans:

Allama Iqbal had become a reputed politician, thinker and poet by 1930. His poetry had an inspiring effect on the Indian Muslims by inculcating among them a sense of their distinct nationalism. His poetry awakened Muslims to start struggling for making progress in various walks of life. The essence of his poetry was the philosophy of being self-dependent

and vibrant. This enhanced his image as a sincere and mature thinker who was worried about the future of Indian Muslims. With time, his political importance grew significantly in the late 1920s.

By that time Jinnah was not in favour of the Two Nation theory as he believed in some kind of joint struggle against the British colonial rule. He, therefore, proposed four amendments in the Nehru report, and promised to drop the demand of separate electorates of Muslims if the amendments were accepted by the Congress. Iqbal, on the other hand, was opposed to any such unity between Hindus and Muslims as he could foresee the consequences of a united India ruled by the Hindu majority. He was also opposed to the British imperialism as it went against fundamental Islamic beliefs. He sharply criticised the colonial rule in his 1938 address. Thus Iqbal's views gradually evolved into the demand for a separate Muslim homeland.

He, therefore, began to persuade many ML leaders to build an effective political force against the British rule as well as the Congress plans of a Hindu-dominated India. He had closely observed the Western colonial mindset during his stay in Europe in the start of 20th century. Thus his views made him a well-respected and authoritative leader to represent the Indian Muslims. Finally, he made a formal demand for an independent state for Muslims while presiding over the annual ML session in December 1930. He elaborated his demand by strong reasoning in his historic Allahabad address.

Ch. Rehmat Ali

Introduction:

- Born – 1897, Punjab;
- Educated at Islamia College, Lhr.
- Law practice 1918 onwards
- Masters degree in law, Cambridge University.
- Developed idea of a separate Muslim state in NW Indian provinces, 1930's.
- Attended RTC's 1930-32, tried to convince Muslim leaders to accept his idea.
- Jinnah & other leaders didn't agree, thought such a scheme as too premature.
- 1933, Pakistan National Movement & his pamphlet, "Now or Never", introduced the word "Pakistan".
- Collection of his articles, "Pakistan – the fatherland of the Pak nation".

Importance of his work

- Issued first direct call for a separate Muslim state in the NW Muslim majority provinces of India; surpassed Sir Syed & Allama Iqbal in making his demand
- Gave a name to the proposed state – Pakistan, a meaningful term – literal meaning "land of the pure people (Muslims) & each letter for a Muslim majority area. P: Punjab; A for Afghanistan (NWFP); K for Kashmir; S for Sindh & "tan" for Balochistan.
- According to his explanation, the acronym "Pakistan" included the Indian & Asian homelands of Muslims

- ML adopted his idea & the name “Pakistan”, March 1940 & worked to achieve the goal of a Muslim state of NW & NE Muslim majority provinces.

Q: Who was Ch. Rehmat Ali? (4)

Ans. He was born in 1897 and studied in England in the 1930s. He attended the Round Table Conferences and developed the idea of struggle for a separate and independent Muslim state comprising Muslim majority provinces of the north-western India as he was opposed to any kind of an India federation. In 1933, he used the word 'Pakistan' for the Muslim homeland in his pamphlet, 'Now or Never'. Each letter in the word Pakistan represented a Muslim majority area. Though he gained popularity, Jinnah considered such a struggle in the 1930s as too premature to be started. So, he remained less popular than Iqbal and Jinnah who even refused to meet him.

Q: Why was Ch. Rehmat Ali important? (7)

Ans. He presented the scheme of Pakistan. As a young student, he attended the Round Table Conferences in London in the 1930s and was opposed to any kind of federation of India. Instead, he believed in launching an active struggle for a totally independent and separate Muslim homeland comprising the north-western Muslim majority provinces of India. He tried to persuade the Muslim leaders to accept his scheme but failed to impress them, though the idea of partition of India appealed many. He gave the name Pakistan to the independent Muslim state in his famous pamphlet 'Now or Never' that was published in 1933. Literal meaning of the word Pakistan is 'land of the pure (Muslims)' and each letter of the word represented a Muslim majority area within and beyond India. They are: Punjab, Afghanistan (NWFP), Kashmir, Iran, Sindh, Tokharistan, Afghanistan and Balochistan. Despite Jinnah's refusal to meet him, the word Pakistan was adopted by the ML for the independent Muslim state. For the same reason the Lahore Resolution is also called the Pakistan Resolution. His views were really ahead of his time and different from those of Iqbal who proposed a Muslim state within or outside India. For this reason most Muslim leaders did not accept them but the idea of partition of India began to be considered by many in the 1930s.

Q: Assess the significance of the contributions of Allama Iqbal and Rehmat Ali to the Pakistan Movement. Explain your answer.

Or

Was the work of Allama Iqbal more important to the Pakistan Movement than that of Rehmat Ali? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans.

Both Iqbal and Rehmat Ali laid the foundation of the Pakistan Movement. Allama Iqbal was a philosopher – poet who eventually became a politician. He was knighted in 1922 in recognition of his poetry and later he was elected as member of Punjab Legislative Assembly later in 1926. In the absence of Jinnah, Iqbal presided over the historic session of ML and in December 1930 at Allahabad. He elaborated the two nation theory by highlighting the distinctive cultural, civilizational and historic features of the Muslim community. He spoke against the imperialistic powers of the West and said it was unfair to occupy lands of the independent people. He said, "European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups. I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state". This way, Iqbal predicted as well as expressed his desire of the possibility of creation of a Muslim homeland in the North Western Muslim

majority provinces of India. As a result communal division of India was seriously considered by many Muslims during the 1930's.

Iqbal is also important because of his inspiring poetry that gradually infused the spirit of Muslim nationalism among Muslims who began to see a clear goal ahead of them. His poetry gave hope to the Muslims telling them to be proud of their past and of their heritage. He believed that the British and the Hindus were equally opposed to the Muslim cause. Ch Rehmat Ali scheme of Pakistan was greatly influenced by the views of Allama Iqbal.

His ideas were followed and strengthened by both Ch. Rehmat Ali and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It was Iqbal who had persuaded Jinnah to come back to India to lead the Muslim community. Therefore, Jinnah on the passage of Lahore Resolution in March 1940 paid rich tribute to Iqbal and wished if Iqbal had been alive to see his dream come true. Iqbal is rightly called the "Architect of Pakistan" as well as the first leader from the ML to have dreamed of a separate Muslim homeland. He presented the scheme of Pakistan. As a young student, he attended the Round Table Conferences in London in the 1930s and was opposed to any kind of federation of India. Instead, he believed in launching an active struggle for a totally independent and separate Muslim homeland comprising the north-western Muslim majority provinces of India. He tried to persuade the Muslim leaders to accept his scheme but failed to impress them, though the idea of partition of India appealed many.

He gave the name Pakistan to the independent Muslim state in his famous pamphlet 'Now or Never' that was published in 1933. Literal meaning of the word Pakistan is 'land of the pure (Muslims)' and each letter of the word represented a Muslim majority area within and beyond India. They are: Punjab, Afghania (NWFP), Kashmir, Iran, Sindh, Tokharistan, Afghanistan and Balochistan. Despite Jinnah's refusal to meet him, the word Pakistan was adopted by the ML for the independent Muslim state. For the same reason the Lahore Resolution is also called the Pakistan Resolution. His views were really ahead of his time and different from those of Iqbal who proposed a Muslim state within or outside India. For this reason most Muslim leaders did not accept them but the idea of partition of India began to be considered by many in the 1930s.

It can be said that Allama Iqbal contributed more significantly to the development of Pakistan Movement because his Allahabad address became one of the most prominent milestones on the road leading to a formal demand of Pakistan by the ML in March 1940. Moreover, his poetry had a greater inspirational impact on the Indian Muslims as it gave more power to the idea of Muslim nationalism.

Q Which of the following contributed the most to the Pakistan Movement:-

- (i) Allama Iqbal's Address of 1930**
- (ii) Chaudhry Rehmat's scheme of Pakistan**
- (iii) Jinnah's Lahore Resolution of 1940? (14)**

Ans: All the three were of utmost importance for the Pakistan Movement. Iqbal was a philosopher – poet who later became a politician. His Allahabad address of December 1930 carries immense importance in the shaping of the Pakistan Movement. In this address he proved Muslims as a distinct community of India in the light of the Two Nation theory. He spoke against the imperialistic powers of the West and said it was unfair to occupy lands of the independent people. He said, “European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups. I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state”. This way, Iqbal predicted as well as expressed his desire of the possibility of creation of a Muslim homeland in the North Western Muslim majority provinces of India. As a result communal division of India was seriously considered by many Muslims during the 1930's. He represented Muslims in the second and third round table conferences. He persuaded Jinnah to return to India and lead the Muslim community. He was rightly called the Architect of Pakistan because from March 1940 onwards the ML under Jinnah struggled to materialize the dream of Iqbal.

Ch Rehmat Ali was a student leader in the Cambridge University in the 1930s. He attended the RTC's as an observer. During these years he developed the idea of a separate Muslim homeland comprising the northwestern Muslim majority provinces of India for which he coined the name Pakistan in his famous pamphlet “Now or Never”. The word Pakistan literally means “land of the pure” and each letter in the word represents a Muslim majority area /province: P for Punjab, A for Afghanistan (NWFP) K for Kashmir, (‘I’ was later inserted to the word Pakistan), S for Sindh, TAN for Balochistan. He tried to persuade Muslim leaders to launch an active struggle for achieving Pakistan but most of them were not impressed by his views. For Jinnah it was too premature an idea to be adopted at that time. However, he and the ML adopted the same name (Pakistan) coined by Ch. Rehmat Ali despite all differences with him. His views were distinct because neither Sir Syed nor Allama Iqbal had gone to the extent of declaring Muslims as a nation.

Then, in 1940, the Lahore Resolution of Mr. Jinnah was adopted. He was the most prominent leader of the ML. At first Jinnah was not in favour of a separate Muslim homeland and believed that Muslims might live comfortably in a federation of India with maximum provincial autonomy. But the INC rule of 1937 – 1939 greatly changed his views about the future of Indian Muslims. He presided over the historic session of ML on 22nd March 1940 in which Maulvi Fazal ul Haq presented a resolution demanding that “Regions in which the Muslims are numerically a majority, as in the NW and Eastern zone of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constitutional units shall be autonomous and sovereign. The resolution was unanimously passed on 23rd March, 1940. This marked the start of active struggle for Pakistan that was achieved after only seven years. A remarkable feature of Lahore Resolution is that it demanded for both NW and NE Muslim majority provinces whereas Iqbal and Ch Rehmat Ali had focused on NW provinces only.

To conclude, the Lahore Resolution seems to be the most important because it was the ultimate result of the views and efforts of leaders like Sir Syed, Iqbal and Ch. Rehmat Ali. It gave Muslims a visible goal for which they started their struggle under the leadership of Jinnah.

Q: Why did Muslims not demand complete independence from Britain before 1940?

(7)

Ans:

Muslims wanted a greater role, like Hindus, in running India. For this reason the ML on Jinnah's advice in 1913, changed its policy of promoting loyalty to the British. It began to ask for self rule as it felt betrayed over the reversal of partition of Bengal in 1911. The ML, however, knew if it pressured the British too much, the latter might leave India putting them at the mercy of Hindus. Its fears got stronger when the Nehru Report was presented in 1928. The Nehru Report rejected the Muslim demands of separate electorates and one third seats in the Central Legislative Assembly. It declared these demands were based on the "illegal fear" of the Muslims. The report asked for a strong central government that would surely be dominated by the Hindus.

Jinnah, therefore, tried to persuade the INC to amend the Nehru Report to make it acceptable to the Muslims, but his advice was rejected. Jinnah, till the late 1930's had a hope of Hindu-Muslim unity, but the INC rule of 1937-39 compelled him to demand a separate homeland for the Muslims. This period of the INC rule was marked by a number of anti-Muslim policies in the provinces controlled by the INC as a result of which the Muslim fear of living under a Hindu- dominated India got materialised into a demand of their own sovereign state. This demand was formally made in March 1940.

End of the INC Rule and Start of the Pakistan Movement

The Lahore / Pakistan Resolution

- Jinnah opposed to a separate state for Muslims, all through 1930's → believed in Hindu-Muslim unity or any sort of Indian federation where Muslims had political autonomy & protection of their political rights.
- Gradual evolution of the idea of a separate, independent Muslim homeland in 1930's → Iqbal's 1930 address at Allahabad & Ch. Rehmat Ali's scheme of 'Pakistan', began to influence the Muslims as well as Jinnah → Two Nation Theory began to get more relevant
- 1937-39 INC rule unified most of the ML leaders under Jinnah to make a demand for a separate Muslim country.
- 22 March 1940, ML session in Lahore, under Jinnah → all ML leaders from India
- Maulvi Fazal UI Haq forwarded the famous Lahore Resolution → unanimously adopted → formal demand for Pakistan, comprising the Muslim majority provinces in NW & NE India.
- Marked start of struggle for Pakistan.
- The Hindu press sarcastically called it the "Pakistan Resolution" → ML adopted this.
- ML would take another seven years to achieve its goal.

Q: What was the Lahore/Pakistan Resolution? (4)

Ans. The annual session of the ML held at the Minto Park (now Iqbal Park) in Lahore on 22 March 1940 was presided over by the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It was attended by the ML representatives from all provinces of India. The premier of Bengal, Maulvi Fazl-ul-Haq put forward a resolution demanding a separate and independent Muslim state comprising the Muslim majority provinces in the north-western and north-eastern zones of India. The Resolution was passed unanimously on 23 March 1940 as the 'Lahore Resolution'. However, the Hindu press soon began to call it the 'Pakistan Resolution' in a sarcastic way, and the same title was eventually accepted by the ML.

Q: Why did ML make a demand for Pakistan in 1940? (7)

Ans. Muslims wanted their own homeland. Jinnah and the ML had tried their best to maintain some kind of Hindu-Muslim unity but this dream was shattered repeatedly. Jinnah was ready to accept the Nehru Report, 1928 with some democratic amendments regarding the security of political rights of Indian Muslims in an Indian Federation but the INC rejected them. Jinnah, therefore, presented his 14 Points but the INC did not accept them.

During the second RTC, 1931 Gandhi adopted an inflexible attitude by refusing to grant them adequate constitutional protection and insisted that the provision of religious liberty would be sufficient to safeguard the rights of the minorities. Jinnah knew that such a provision was ambiguous and would surely lead to communal violence. The deadlock between the two leaders widened the gulf between Hindus and Muslims.

The INC rule, 1937-1939 embittered the relations between the two communities that were damaged irreparably. The atrocities committed by the INC ministers against the Muslims paved the way for the partition of India. Muslims were denied religious liberty when extremist Hindus pushed pigs into the mosques and the Wardha Scheme forced Muslim students to bow before Gandhi's portrait. Such acts were aimed at attacking the fundamental religious beliefs of Muslims. Therefore, by celebrating the Day of Deliverance, the ML had indicated towards making a separate and independent Muslim state where Muslims could live without any fear of Hindu domination.

New Pattern Question

Source A

"No constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable to the Muslims unless geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary. That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights of the minorities."

Q(a) According to source A what scheme about the future of India has been outlined? (3)

Ans. The source declares that any constitution for a united India would not be suitable and acceptable for the Indian Muslims. It is asking for a separate Muslim homeland comprising the Muslim majority geographical units of India. The source further guarantees the respect and protection of non-Muslim minorities that would be equal citizens of the independent Muslim states.

Source B, a scene of Jinnah addressing the historic session of the Muslim League in March 1940.



Q (b): Describe the interaction between Jinnah and his audience. [5]
Ans.

The source portrays Jinnah's strong, commanding and confident stature during his address. The unusually huge size of the audience demonstrates success of Jinnah in mobilizing the Indian Muslims for the common cause of an independent Muslim state. Jinnah has been garlanded that shows the degree of warmth in his reception and the importance of the occasion. Jinnah is wearing his traditional cap and the Achkan/Sherwani, a kind of long cloak instead of his favourite attire of a pent-coat suit which reflects his nationalistic sense. His saluting hand conveys the message that his scheme of partition of India has been unanimously accepted by the audience. The occasion marks the official start of the struggle for Pakistan.

The WW2 and the Political Negotiations for Independence in India

WW2 (1939-1945) and Political negotiations in India

- 3 Sept 1939, start of WW2 b/w Britain and Nazi Germany
- Viceroy Linlithgow announced: India, too, at war with Germany
- INC objected → wanted promise of independence as condition to support the British → British could promise Dominion status after the war
- INC ministers resigned in protest, but also disapproved: Nazism (German nationalism) & Fascism (Italian nationalism).
- ML demanded → end of anti-Muslim policies of INC; no law about Muslims without approval of 2/3rd majority; INC should form coalition with ML in provinces.
- INC & British couldn't promise this
- Like INC, ML also rejected Nazism & Fascism,
- 22 Dec 1939 → Day of Deliverance celebrated by Muslims on Jinnah's call → marking end to the INC rule.

The Cripps Mission, 1942

- ML demanded Pakistan, March 1940
- INC → fully opposed partition of India
- Brit not ready to withdraw from India
- INC ministers resigned to pressurize the British as it could support the British war efforts on condition of full independence
- March 1942 → British sent the Cripps Mission to try some compromise.

The Mission proposed:

- an Indian Union with dominion status after the war
- non-accession clause → any province(s) could opt out of the Union
- except for defence & Viceroy, all Indian ministers
- a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution after the war
- elections for the Constituent Assembly after the war

Indian reaction:

- ML & INC rejected the plan
- ML → the plan didn't mention Pakistan → Jinnah not satisfied with the non-accession clause
- INC → Gandhi termed it "a post-dated cheque on a failing bank" → equated British rule with a "failing Bank", & the plan with a 'post-dated cheque'.

Important Events during the second World War

Q: Describe the Atlantic Charter.

(4)

Ans: It was an agreement between the British PM, Winston Churchill and the US President Franklin Roosevelt in August 1941, during the Second World War Both met in a ship off the Newfoundland coast. They agreed on the rights of self-determination, self-government, and free speech for all nations of the world. They also called for a fairer international economic system, and insisted on stopping the use of force. The Labour Party in England drew the attention of Churchill towards the independence of India by referring to the Atlantic Charter. During the Second World War it supported the Indian demand of independence.

Q: What was the August Offer?

(4)

Ans: In order to win the Muslim support in the Second World War, the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, made an offer to the Muslim League in August 1940. He promised that a new Indian constitution would not be finalised without the agreement of the Muslims. The Muslim League, however, wanted an equal or greater membership of Muslims in the proposed Defence Council. The Viceroy did not accept this, and therefore, the Muslim League, rejected the August Offer. Most of its members in the Central and Provincial governments resigned from their posts.

Q: What was the Cripps Mission Plan?

(4)

Ans. In March 1942, the British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British Cabinet, to India. He tried to reach a compromise between the British and the Indians. He proposed to grant India the Dominion status in the form of a Union of India after the War, to hold elections to elect a Constituent Assembly that would frame a new constitution for India. The Plan also proposed that any province or state could opt out of the proposed Union. Both Gandhi and Jinnah rejected the Plan on different grounds.

Q: Why did the Cripps Mission fail?

(7)

Ans. The proposals of the Cripps Mission Plan were not acceptable to the INC and the ML. In March 1942, the British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British Cabinet, to India. The Mission proposed to grant India the Dominion status in the form of a Union of India after the War, and framing of a new constitution by a newly elected Constituent Assembly. It also suggested that any province or state could opt out of the proposed Union of India. It, however, did not define the political status of the provinces opting out of the proposed Union.

Jinnah, therefore, rejected it as he was not satisfied with the 'opting out clause' and wanted a direct recognition of Pakistan by the British as the ML had formally demanded the same in March 1940. In order to reiterate the demand for Pakistan, he declared it an unacceptable plan.

Gandhi, on the other hand, having the support of the Hindu majority rejected the plan in a more sarcastic way. He declared it 'a post-dated cheque on a failing bank'. He thus equated the British rule in India with a failing bank, and the Plan with a post-dated cheque as he believed the British had to leave India after the War and, therefore, they were not in a position to make such offers. In May 1942, he started his Quit India campaign and was arrested.

The Quit India Movement

- Gandhi's address, May 1942 → no threat of Japanese attack if British left India → so, British should be pressurized.
- Aug 1942 → INC passed the Quit India Resolution → asked British to leave India immediately → Gandhi, Nehru & others were arrested; INC was banned → large scale violence → e.g. aerial bombing.
- ML didn't support → considered it INC attempt to drive British out to establish their own, anti-Muslim rule → Jinnah termed it "political blackmailing".

Q: What was the Quit India Movement/Resolution? (4)

Ans. In May 1942, Gandhi addressed an INC meeting in Allahabad and sharply criticised the lack of compliance shown by the British during the negotiations of the Cripps Mission Plan. He urged the INC to start a non-violent protest against the British. On 8th August 1942, the Quit India Resolution was passed, calling for the immediate withdrawal of the British from India. This led to widespread riots in several parts of India, and the British retaliated with full force.

Q: Why did the Congress/INC start the Quit India Movement? (7)

Ans. Gandhi had rejected the Cripps Mission Plan. While addressing an INC meeting in Allahabad in May 1942, he expressed his resentment of the Plan. In his address, he talked of how, "British behaviour towards India has filled me with great pain." There were rumours of a possible Japanese attack on India as the Japanese forces had captured Singapore recently. Gandhi argued that in case of British departure from India, there was no danger of any such attack by Japan. Even if India was attacked, Indians would persuade Japan by non-violent protest, under his Satya Grah philosophy of peaceful opposition.

He also knew that regardless of the result of the WW2, the British would be forced to leave India due to the huge losses they had incurred in the early phase of the War. On 8th August 1942, the All India Congress Committee asked its Quit India Resolution asking the British to leave India quickly. To support the campaign, Gandhi urged 'a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale'. Two days later on Gandhi, Nehru and several other senior leaders were arrested and the INC was banned. This led to large scale violence and Gandhi was arrested. British had to use the strongest measures including the use of machine guns and aerial bombing. The pressure on the British, however, kept mounting despite all their attempts to keep India under their control. The ML did not support the INC.

Q: Why did the Muslims League Condemn the Quit India Movement? [7]

Ans.

Gandhi-led-Congress launched another anti-British civil disobedience campaign, the Quit India Movement in 1942. The idea was that by increasing political pressure on the British, they would be forced to leave India. However, against the expectations of the Congress, the British proved determined to retain their control over India. About 1000 people, many of them women, were killed. Those who took part saw themselves as freedom fighters. The Muslim League opposed the Quit India Movement. In their opinion it could not succeed and would end up provoking the British, and exactly the same happened.

The Quaid-i-Azam saw this as a ploy by Congress to gain full control once the British left and to compel all other parties to deal with them on Congress terms. He believed that Congress would never negotiate the question of Pakistan with the Muslim League. He,

therefore, criticized the campaign as a kind of blackmailing the British, and trying to exploit the British who were engaged in the WW-II. Gandhi was ostensibly raising the slogan of Hindu-Muslim unity, by saying the British could not be driven out of India without the cooperation of the Muslims. A meeting of the ML Working Committee was held in Bombay on August 16, 1942. To decide the policy of the ML regarding Gandhi's campaign. The meeting continued for four days presided over by the Quaid-i-Azam. It noted with deep concern that the Congress had started an open rebellion against the British only for the establishment of the Hindu Raj in India. He directed the Muslims to remain peaceful, and also not to participate in any anti-Congress activities during the Quit India campaign.

New Pattern Question

Source A, an excerpt from Jinnah's statement after his talks with the Cripps Mission.

"If all parties agree to the Muslim demand for Pakistan or partition and Muslim right for self-determination, details to be settled after the war, then we are prepared to any reasonable adjustment with regard to the present. So far it seems that the British are reluctant in recognizing the idea of Pakistan in a direct and clearer way."

Q (a): What views are being expressed by Jinnah about the Cripps Mission Plan? (3)

Ans. Jinnah is pointing to a support for his demand of Pakistan by both the INC and the British. He wants the right of self-determination for the Indian Muslims so that he could make any future negotiations successful. He is expressing his dissatisfaction over the British response about the question of Pakistan.

Source B, a painting showing the violent scenes of the Quit India Movement of 1942.



Q (b): With the help of the source B, describe the progress and the immediate consequences of the Quit India Movement. [5]

Ans.

The painting displays the horrifying scenes of the Quit India Movement. It shows the involvement of a huge population of India in support of the movement. British seem to dominate the scene as their soldiers carry a determined and stern look with a variety of weapons in their hands. Distress and misery of the Indians is quite evident in the painting as most of them are at the mercy of the British troops. Some of the Indians are being punished on the spot as some of them have been hanged using the trees as the gallows. Many others have been arrested to demonstrate the British strength. Prominence of the Union Jack conveys the message of firm determination of the British to suppress the movement though they are engaged in the War against Germany. Such events would give the British more time to stay in India.

The Gandhi-Jinnah Talks, 1944

- May 1944, Gandhi was released by the new Viceroy Lord Wavell → wrote to Jinnah for talks to discuss future of India as British departure was now sure.
- Jinnah accepted → several rounds of talks, Sept 1944, Jinnah House, Bombay.
- Many expected a consensus → after some initial success, talks failed because :
 - I. Gandhi insisted on joint struggle to force British for independence → after that, partition of India might be settled → Jinnah's refusal → difficult to believe why INC would agree to it after the British departure
 - II. Jinnah: defence and foreign affairs to be with the provinces, in a united India → Gandhi: the central govt to have these.
 - III. Gandhi's claim to represent all Indians → Jinnah considered him as the INC spokesman → his legal mind couldn't accept Gandhi as leader of all the Indians
 - IV. Gandhi rejected the Two Nation theory → didn't accept Muslims a nation, 'Couldn't accept demand of a state by "a body of local converts" → Jinnah tried to persuade: Muslims a nation.
 - V. The talks failed but success for ML → INC considered ML an important party, & Jinnah an important leader → Gandhi discussed conditional acceptance of Pakistan.

Q: What were the Gandhi Jinnah Talks? (4)

Ans. After his release in May 1944, Gandhi wrote to Jinnah to meet him to discuss the future of India. Jinnah invited Gandhi at his house in Bombay and several rounds of talks were held in September 1944 that also involved corresponding between the two leaders. After some success the talks ended in failure as Gandhi rejected the two-nation theory and suggested a joint struggle against the British till their departure from India. He also wanted the Central Government to have control over defence and foreign policy that Jinnah wanted to be with the provincial governments.

Q: Why did the Gandhi-Jinnah Talks fail? (7)

Ans. Gandhi and Jinnah disagreed on key issues. After his release from jail in May 1944, Gandhi proposed to Jinnah that the two meet to consider the future of India after the British departure. Accordingly, several rounds of talks were held at Jinnah House Bombay in September 1944. Gandhi insisted on being treated as an Indian representing all Indian communities. Jinnah could not treat him in any capacity other than an INC spokesman as Gandhi had been the most popular leader of the INC.

Gandhi rejected the two nation theory by saying that Muslims were only local converts in India and they could not be considered a nation only by changing their religion. He said he could not find any example in the world history in support of Muslim nationhood in India. Jinnah countered his argument by highlighting the historic, civilizational and cultural differences between Hindus and Muslims.

Jinnah demanded the key areas such as defence and foreign policy should be given to the provincial governments while Gandhi wanted them to be with the Centre. Gandhi was willing to consider the partition of India if the ML launched a joint struggle with the INC to drive the British out of India. Jinnah had no reason to trust Gandhi because the condition of the joint struggle seemed dubious to him. Thus the talks ended in failure.

New Pattern Question

Source A, part of Gandhi's address to Jinnah in his letter:

"I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from their parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children. The more I think about the two-nation theory the more alarming it appears to me. Mere assertion is no proof."

Q (a): Describe Gandhi's views about the two-nation theory. (3)

Ans. Gandhi is rejecting the two-nation theory on the ground that a change of religion is not sufficient to change a community into a nation. He is persuading Jinnah to accept the reality that with the arrival of the Muslims there was no impact on Indian nationalism. Feeling unimpressed by Jinnah's arguments he is warning him of the consequences of the partition of India along communal lines.

Source B, Jinnah receiving Gandhi at Jinnah House Bombay, 1944.



Q: (b) With the help of the source B describe the scene of the meeting between Gandhi and Jinnah. [5]

Ans.

Jinnah is according a warm welcome to Gandhi. At the same time, Gandhi also seems enthusiastic about the future dialogue with Jinnah. The contrast between the outfits of the two leaders is quite meaningful. Jinnah, with a strong background of living in England, is wearing an expensive dress and holding a cigar between his fingers that reflects his candidness towards Gandhi. The posh looking residence of Jinnah also shows his good financial status. Simple cotton clothing of Gandhi shows his staunch Indian nationalism and a subtle rejection of the British living style. Jinnah seems to have scored first point by convincing Gandhi to come to his residence for the talks. Failure of the talks would be one of the deadlocks between the two major political parties of India.

The Simla Conference, 1945

- Early 1945, British departure visible with the WW2 nearing its end → Wavell to London to discuss future of India with the British govt.
- Wavell Plan → Executive Council (govt) to run India under the 1935 Act, till a new constitution was agreed on → equal no. of Hindu & Muslim ministries in govt; all Indian ministries except for defence & the Viceroy.
- Conference in Simla, June 1945 to discuss the Wavell Plan → leaders of all parties
- ML → Jinnah, Liaqat & Kh. Nazim ud Din
- INC → Gandhi + INC president Abul Kalam Azad → to weaken ML claim of representing all Muslims.
- Consensus of all parties in the start on the Executive Council & other points, but soon deadlock over:
 - 1) Jinnah not satisfied with equal no. of H & M ministers → the Sikhs & Scheduled Castes to vote for INC → ML would be a permanent minority in that case.
 - 2) Jinnah opposed INC demand to nominate both H& M ministers → he argued, ML won every by-election in the last two yrs & so, the only party to represent Indian Muslims.
 - 3) Wavell admitted failure 14 July 1945
 - 4) Last political negotiation during WW2 failed.

Q: Describe the Simla Conference/Wavell Plan. (4)

Ans. In March 1945, Lord Wavell consulted the British government and drafted the Wavell Plan, and invited all political parties of India to Simla to discuss it. The Simla Conference was held in June 1945. The Wavell Plan proposed an Executive Council comprising equal number of Hindu and Muslim ministers, with control over all affairs except for the Viceroy and a British member controlling the defence. The Conference, attended by all major Indian political parties, ended in failure on 14 July 1945 due to a deadlock between Gandhi and Jinnah.

Q: Why did the Simla Conference fail? (7)

Ans. It was held in June-July 1945. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell drew up a plan for the future of India and convened the Simla Conference to discuss it with all political parties of India. Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and Kh. Nazim-ud-Din represented the ML. The Wavell Plan suggested the formation of an Executive Council with an equal number of Hindu and Muslim ministers. Jinnah pointed out that the other non-Muslim parties would surely support the INC, making Muslims a permanent minority in the Executive Council. They included the Sikhs, the Scheduled Castes and the Christians. Lord Wavell could not increase the number of Muslim ministers who were already granted a share greater than their numerical strength in India.

Gandhi was accompanied by the INC president Abul Kalam Azad with the intention of weakening the ML claim of representing all Muslims of India. Therefore, he demanded that the INC should be given the right of nominating some Muslim ministers, too. Jinnah rejected this demand by saying that the ML had been winning all Muslim seats in every by election held since 1940.

Jinnah also knew that the acceptance of Gandhi's demand of nominating a Muslim minister would surely loosen the grip of the ML in some provinces of his proposed map of Pakistan as the INC was already popular in the NWFP. So, the Conference failed to reach a consensus on the Wavell Plan.

Q: Do you agree that during the Second World War there was no significant progress towards independence in the sub-continent? Give reasons for your answer. [14]

Ans. A number of negotiations were held with successes and failures. With the start of the WWII the INC (Congress) ministers resigned with the intention of pressurizing the British for granting independence.

The British needed Indian support in the WWII. So, they dispatched a team, the Cripps Mission led by Sir Stafford Cripps, with a set of proposals for the future of India in March 1942. The Cripps Mission proposed the making of a Union of India in which almost all the ministers were to be Indians, and the possibility of granting dominion status to India after the war. It also provided for any province to opt out of the proposed Union of India. The Plan reflected British willingness to gradually decolonize India. Gandhi and Jinnah rejected the proposals and this showed the possibility of a united stance against the British, though Gandhi and Jinnah had their own reasons to reject it. For Gandhi, the British were not in a position to put forward such a scheme as they would have to leave India sooner or later. He, therefore, commented on the plan by saying that it was a post-dated cheque on a failing bank. He launched the Quit India movement and was arrested with many other INC leaders. Jinnah felt disappointed as he wanted a clear mention of Pakistan and was not satisfied with the 'opting out clause'. So, the plan was turned down by Indians.

After Gandhi was released from jail, he wrote to Jinnah to hold talks with him about the future of India. Jinnah accepted it and invited Gandhi at his home in Bombay. Several rounds of talks were held in June, 1944. The talks showed Gandhi's acknowledgement of Jinnah as a major leader. He also suggested joint struggle of INC and ML after which the partition of India could be discussed. This shows his conditional acceptance of Pakistan. However, the talks had more failures than successes. Gandhi insisted on being treated as an ordinary Indian but this irritated Jinnah's legal mind as for him Gandhi was only an INC spokesman. Gandhi also rejected the two nation theory by saying that a community couldn't become a nation just by changing religion. Majority of Indian Muslims were local converts from Hinduism or Sikhism. Jinnah asked for keeping the defence and foreign affairs under the provincial governments in case of a united India. So the talks ended in a deadlock.

By June 1945, the WWII was nearing end and British were now determined to leave India. Viceroy Lord Wavell, after consulting with the British government, drafted the Wavell Plan. The plan was discussed in the Simla Conference in June-July 1945. The ML delegation included Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Abul Kalam Azad, the INC President. Lord Wavell unfolded the plan of an interim Executive Council (government) comprising equal number of Hindu and Muslim ministers. All parties agreed on the idea of the Executive Council, and the independence of India. However, Gandhi insisted on nominating Hindus as well as some Muslim ministers. Inclusion of Azad was aimed at conveying the message that INC too represented Muslims. Jinnah replied that ML alone was a party of all Muslims as it had been winning almost all by elections for the Muslim seats during the last 3 years. Jinnah also objected to equal number of Hindu and Muslim ministers by pointing towards other non-Muslim minorities. If those minorities allied themselves with INC, Muslims would remain a minority. The session ended without any success and Wavell admitted failure of the conference on 14th July, 1945.

If analyzed objectively, it seems that these negotiations were all successful because each of these resulted in building of more pressure on British by both INC and ML. The cumulative result of negotiations eventually forced the British to leave as well as partition India in 1947.

OR (if students wished to prove that the negotiations achieved nothing)

It analyzed objectively, the negotiations were all failures because each led to a deadlock mainly because of the ever widening gulf between the ML and INC that benefitted British only as they were able to prolong their stay in India.

New Pattern Question

Source A, comments on the INC claims:

"Many other non-Muslim Indians resented Congress claiming to speak for them. At Simla, Jinnah was asked, as well as representing the League, also to speak for the Indian Christian Association and the South Indian Liberal Federation. In this way he represented more non-Muslims than the Muslims that Congress claimed to speak for."

Q (a): Describe the comparison between the ML and the INC as presented in the Source A. (3)

Ans. The source tells about the growing popularity of the ML against the INC. The ML has gained support by many important non-Muslim minorities of India. Representatives of these minorities have rejected the claim made by the INC of representing all communities of India.

Source B, a cartoon depicting the failure of the Simla Conference, June 1945.



Q (b): According to Source B what do we learn about the results of the Simla Conference? [5]

Ans.

The cartoon displays the inherent disunity among Indians that has been symbolised as a tiger. The elephants represent the major political parties of India that have been given an opportunity by the British to overpower the intimidated monster of disunity. They are rushing towards their target but in their individual capacity instead of making a single team by encircling tiger. This reflects the inherent disunity among Indians. The slogan on the Union Jack represents the Wavell Plan that has offered the major parties of India to keep India united. Wavell is desperately trying to persuade them to accept his plan. However, the Indians seem destined to remain disunited and that would lead to the partition of India only after a couple of years.

The 1945 Elections

- Winston Churchill's Conservative govt was replaced by the Labour Party P.M. Clement Attlee → effort to give self-rule to India
- Elections for central & provincial assemblies to set up an Executive Council of major parties
- INC campaigned for an independent, undivided India;
- ML → for a separate Muslim state.
- Results, Dec 1945: INC → 91% of non-Muslim vote → majority in 8 provinces including the NWFP, 19/36 seats against ML → 17/36.
- ML → 87% of total Muslim vote → 100% seats in the centre; 446/495 seats in provincial assemblies → govts in Bengal & Sindh; largest party in Punjab.

Why ML performed better in 1945:

- Because more organized & popular → learned a lot from the 1937 elections → launched more effective campaign
- The INC rule 1937-39 shocked Muslims into unity → realized INC would mistreat them if they voted it
- March 1940, Lhr Resolution → struggle of ML for a separate state, Pakistan → ML equal with INC → deeper communal divide.
- "Image problem" was overcome greatly → ML had made inroads into all sections of society.

Q: Describe the 1945-46 Elections. (4)

Ans. The Labour Party P.M. Clement Attlee asked Wavell to hold elections for the central and provincial assemblies so that an Executive Council of the Indians could be set up. The INC campaigned for an independent, undivided India but the ML for an independent and divided India. The INC got 91% of non-Muslim vote to get a majority in 8 provinces including the NWFP where it bagged 19/36 seats whereas the ML got 17/36. The ML won 87% of total Muslim vote 100% seats in the central assembly and 446/495 seats in provincial assemblies.

Q: Why did ML perform better in the 1945 Elections? (7)

Ans. Many factors helped Muslim League (ML) perform better. It was now more organized and popular than in 1937. Jinnah had played key role in unifying its various factions. In the Lucknow meeting of the ML in October 1937 he persuaded the party to build up support from the grass roots. Due to his efforts the chief ministers of Assam, Bengal and Punjab joined the party by 1938 and the vote bank of the ML was enlarged significantly. It was able to win most of the by-elections between 1940 and 1945.

It had learned a lot from the 1937 elections. So, it launched a more effective campaign in 1945. It made successful efforts to overcome the 'image problem'. For many years the ML was seen as a party of elite Muslim class because the circumstances of its foundation were marked by the presence of rich landowners/nawabs. A mass contact campaign was launched by Jinnah to approach all segments of the Muslim community in various provinces.

The INC rule 1937-39 had shocked Muslims into unity. They realized that in an INC-dominated India their political and cultural identity would be seriously threatened. Therefore, only three months after the celebration of the Day of Deliverance, Muslims got united on the ML platform to make a demand for Pakistan. This demand changed the political landscape of India, and by 1945 the Muslims had a clear objective and goal to achieve. Therefore, a great majority of Muslims voted for the ML in the 1945 elections.

Q. Was the success of the Labour Party in winning the British General Election in 1945 the most important reason why the subcontinent of India was partitioned in 1947? Explain your answer. [10/14]

Ans.

The Labour Party won a massive and unexpected victory in the 1945 General Election. It won 393 seats against the Conservative Party that won only 197 seats. The party was opposed to imperialism and eager to promote independence for India following the election. Thus the signs for an independent state of some kind looked very positive. However, there was a problem, since the new government was pro-Congress and Gandhi, so partition was most unlikely and instead the favoured route was for a federal India rather than two separate states.

However, there were other factors too, that led to the partition of India in 1947. Following the Simla Conference in 1945, Lord Wavell announced new elections. The

results demonstrated that the Congress had control of the non-Muslim votes but that the League had equally gained control of the Muslim vote. It was clear that the League was an equal player to the Congress and that the demand for partition could no longer be ignored by the Congress or the British Government. However, in March 1946, members of the British Cabinet Mission arrived in India to work out a plan for achieving independence for India as a federation. The Mission met with some 470 Indian leaders but Jinnah stuck firm to his stance that partition was the only way forward as far as the Muslims were concerned. Once the plans for groupings the provinces were known, the ML accepted the plan as long as the groupings were to be compulsory. Congress however refused to accept the groupings and that they would not be bound by any British plan. The British government decided to form an Interim Government headed by Nehru of Congress. Eventually members of the ML joined it too.

The ML got worried that the British would leave India without organizing a settlement and didn't want Congress to be left in charge of organizing a new country. Thus the ML organised a Direct Action Day in the summer of 1946 in an attempt to stop the British government giving in to Congress. Rioting on a massive scale took place and thousands died. The British got increasingly worried that civil war would ensue and gradually a change of mind grew over partition. In February 1947 came the announcement by Attlee that the British would leave the sub-continent by 1948 and the subsequent violence in the Punjab in March 1947 that convinced Nehru that partition should take place quickly. This was formalized in the 3rd June Plan of 1947 in which Mountbatten, the new Viceroy brought about partition in August 1947.

It may be concluded that the victory of the Labour Party was the most decisive factor in the partition of India. After winning the election it acted wisely and preferred to reconstruct England after the WW-II instead of retaining the burden of colonial rule over India. Moreover, it had demanded independence of India after the Atlantic Charter agreed between British PM and the US President in August 1941.

The Cabinet Mission Plan, 1946

- **Last British attempt for Indian unity → some solution acceptable to all parties**
- **A 3 member-mission of British cabinet → Stafford Cripps, A.V. Alexander & Pethic Lawrence (Secretary of State for India) reached India, March 1946**
- **Dialogue with major parties & found:**
 - **Jinnah wanted independent Pakistan with undivided Punjab & Bengal → after this, central agency might be considered to look after some common subjects**
 - **INC → totally independent & undivided India**
 - **Cabinet Mission → an interim govt, while the British were leaving → the interim govt to form an All India Commission of elected members → the commission to decide whether one or two constitutions for India → INC & ML rejected it.**
 - **May 1946, final proposal of the Mission → grouping of provinces → no Pakistan ; 3 groups of provinces → (1) the Hindu Majority Provinces (2) NW Muslims majority provinces (3) NE Muslim majority Provinces.**
 - **Full autonomy for each group → could make its own constitution**
 - **Defence, foreign affairs & communication to be under a Central Indian Union.**
 - **ML approved it, but Nehru → declared it just a proposal & so, not binding on future Indian govt after independence.**
 - **ML was forced to drop the plan.**

Direct Action Day

- **Summer 1946 → British withdrawal ready**
- **ML feared Hindu domination if British left without settling the question of Pakistan → ML wanted to convey a message of its strength to the British.**
- **July 1946 → ML passed resolution asking Muslims to be ready for final struggle for Pakistan.**
- **16 Aug 1946 → Direct Action Day to show strength.**
- **'Great Calcutta Killing' → 4000 people were killed.**

Q: What was the Cabinet Mission Plan? (4)

Ans. In March 1946, the British sent a three member delegation to India to hold talks with the INC and the ML. It included Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Pethic Lawrence and Mr. A. V. Alexander. The Commission first proposed the formation of an All India Commission by an interim government, After its rejection by the INC and the ML, it proposed an Indian Federation with three groups of provinces: the Hindu majority territories, the western Muslim provinces, and Bengal and Assam. The ML accepted it but Nehru termed it only a scheme that was not binding on any Indian government.

Q: Why did the Cabinet Mission fail? (7)

Ans. It was rejected by the INC and the ML. British made a last attempt to keep India united and dispatched a commission of three members of the British Cabinet in March 1946. They were Lord Pethic Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander. The Commission found dichotomy between the INC and the ML. the INC insisted on an undivided and independent India whereas the ML demanded independence and partition of India. Both parties firmly stuck to their guns.

The Commission, therefore, proposed the formation of an interim government that would set up an All India Commission. This Commission would comprise members of the Provincial and Central Legislatures. It would decide whether there should be one or two states after the British had left. Both parties rejected it as they wanted a permanent settlement in the presence of the British.

Finally, in May 1946, the Cabinet Mission announced its final plan according to which a federation of India was to be set up comprising three autonomous units: one unit of Hindu majority provinces, another unit of the western Muslim provinces and a third unit of Bengal and Assam. Each unit could make its own constitution and foreign affairs, defence and communication would be under the central government. The ML accepted it and was ready to nominate members but Nehru stated that the INC would not be bound by the plan after the British departure. This spoiled the whole scheme.

Q: What was the Direct Action Day? (4)

Ans: By late summer 1946, the British were planning to leave India. The ML feared a Hindu-dominated India if British left without settling the question of Pakistan. In that case they would suffer at the hands of the Hindus. So, it was important to demonstrate Muslim solidarity on a large scale to all. In July 1946 the ML passed a resolution asking Muslims to be ready for final struggle for Pakistan. On 16th Aug 1946, the ML called for a Direct Action Day to show the strength of Muslims. This marked the start of widespread communal riots in various parts of India. In the 'Great Calcutta Killing', 4000 people were killed.

New Pattern Question

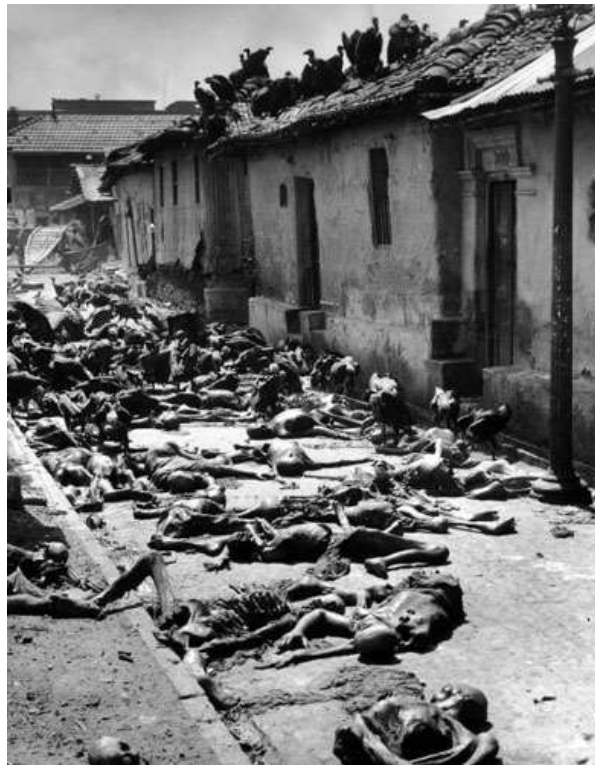
Source A, an excerpt from Jinnah's speech in July 1946:

"We want peace, but if war is forced upon us, we accept it. Now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to Direct Action, to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights and get rid of the British slavery and contemplated future caste-Hindu domination."

Q (a): According to Source A what message is being conveyed by Jinnah? (3)

Ans. According to Jinnah the circumstances were forcing the Muslims to adopt violent means as all their efforts for a peaceful settlement of division of India had failed. He is urging Muslims to be ready to take direct control of the Muslim majority provinces that would become the independent state of Pakistan. He is asking them to struggle to get rid of the long period of British rule and a possible Hindu rule on a united India.

Source B, a scene of riots resulting from observance of the Direct Action Day:



Q (b): What does Source B tell us about the political situation of India in August 1946? [5]

Ans.

It is a horrible scene showing several dead bodies at one place. Some people seem to have been killed recently while the bodies of others have decayed visibly. The condition of the dead and the presence of vultures over them proves that the local authorities have not paid attention to this tragedy. The buildings in the neighborhood are damaged and carry a deserted look which means that the inhabitants have abandoned the place to save their lives. The number of the dead conveys the message that the violence would soon spread to other parts of India as there would be a wave of retaliation by the affected community. Such campaigns would eventually force the British to announce independence as well as partition of India only after one year.

Q: What was the 3 June Plan? (4)

Ans. British PM Attlee announced that India would be independent by June 1948. He sent the new Viceroy Lord Mountbatten in March 1947 to finalize the plan of independence of India. Realising that partition of India was inevitable, on 3rd June 1947, he announced that there would be two states, India and Pakistan each having a Dominion status. Muslim majority provinces would decide to join either state by voting. Both countries would adopt the 1935 Act as the interim constitution.

Q: What was the Radcliffe Award? (4)

Ans. Mountbatten appointed a Boundary Commission under Sir Cyril Radcliffe to draw the boundary line between India and Pakistan. Radcliffe had four assistants, two nominated by the ML and two by the INC. The Radcliffe Award was announced on 16th August 1947. The ML was disappointed as Calcutta in Bengal and the Muslim majority districts of Frozepur and Gurdaspur in Punjab were given to India. Gurdaspur provided a land route to India to have access to Kashmir. Jinnah unwillingly accepted the Award.

Q: What was the Independence Act? (4)

Ans. It was passed on 15th August 1947 and stated that from that day India would be partitioned into two Dominion states: India and Pakistan. Each state would be totally free to make any laws it wished. The 1935 Act would serve as the interim constitution till both the states had framed their own constitutions. Pakistan adopted 14th August and India 15th August as the Independence Day.

Q: Who was Lord Mountbatten? (4)

Ans. He was a great-grandson of Queen Victoria. He joined the Royal Navy when he was just 16 and performed meritorious services as the Supreme Commander South-East Asia. Prime Minister Attlee sent him as the last Viceroy of India in March 1947. He drafted the scheme of independence and partition of India that is popularly known as the 3rd June Plan. On the request of the INC he became the 1st Governor General of India on 15th August 1947 and served in that capacity till 21st June 1948. He with his family was killed by the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Ireland in 1979.

Q Were the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah the most important achievement of Mr. Jinnah between 1929 and 1947? Do you agree? (14)

Ans: In 1929, Jinnah came up with his fourteen points in response of the Nehru Report of 1928. ML had rejected the Nehru Report as it asked for too many sacrifices. It rejected the idea of separate Muslim electorates and one third Muslim seats in the Central Government. Jinnah proposed three amendments to the report but the INC did not accept them. In his fourteen points Jinnah asked for maximum safeguarding of political rights of Muslims. He demanded one third Muslim seats in the Centre and maintaining the existing provincial boundaries. He also proposed that no law about any community to be enforced without three fourth members of the same community in the legislative assembly approving it. These 14 points became the basis of any future negotiation with the INC or the British. Also, they gradually evolved into the demand for Pakistan in 1940.

Jinnah continued to work for the Indian Muslims after his return from England in 1934. During the INC rule of 1937 – 1939, he reorganized the ML and visited various provinces to raise the vote bank for ML. The chief ministers of Assam, Bengal and Punjab formally joined the ML. As a result of his efforts, its membership grew especially in the Muslim majority provinces. He was also able to improve the image of ML.

The Lahore resolution was passed in the historic session of ML in March 1940. The session was presided over by Jinnah and the Resolution was adopted by all the ML representatives. In this Resolution ML officially demanded a 'separate and sovereign' Muslim state in the north-western and north-eastern Muslim majority provinces of India. It marked the start of active struggle for Pakistan. Now, Jinnah and ML had become the only guiding light for the Muslims to struggle for independence.

In 1942 the Cripps Mission brought the idea of the “Union of India” comprising the British Indian provinces and the princely states. In the proposed union, almost all ministers were to be Indians. The plan allowed any province/provinces to opt out of the Union. However, Jinnah rejected the plan as he was not satisfied with the “opting out clause”. The clause did not state the political status of the opting out provinces. Therefore, Jinnah wanted a more clear and specific mention of Pakistan. Followed by the Cripps Mission Plan, Jinnah made an important achievement in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks of 1944. Though the talks failed, Jinnah scored many points. Gandhi had come to Jinnah to hold talks as he had recognized him as major leader. The INC for the first time, negotiated with the ML on an equal footing. Mr. Jinnah stood firm on his stance and did not accept any suggestion of the withdrawal of the demand for Pakistan. Gandhi’s conditional acceptance of Pakistan was the main outcome of these talks. Jinnah rejected Gandhi’s proposal of first launching a joint struggle for independence and later settling the issue of Pakistan.

The victory of the ML in the 1945 elections proved to accelerate the pace of struggle for achieving Pakistan. The major reason for this dramatic change in favour of the Muslims from 1937 to 1945 was the increased popularity of ML among Muslims. The results of the 1945 elections were in favour of ML as it had won most of the Muslim seats in the Central and Provincial Assemblies. This greatly raised the spirit of Muslims to continue their struggle for Pakistan.

Finally, all the efforts of Mr. Jinnah bore their fruit when Lord Mount Batten announced the future of India in the 3rd June Plan, 1947. In this plan, the British Government officially announced the independence of India and the creation of two separate states of India and Pakistan. The Muslim League accepted the plan though under this Punjab and Bengal were to be divided. Pakistan had finally been accepted by the British.

In the final analysis it seems that the 14 points were the most important achievement between 1929 and 1947. If Jinnah had not presented his 14 points, neither the British nor the INC would have been forced to hold a series of negotiations with Jinnah in the 1940's that culminated in the form of creation of Pakistan.

Q: The Cripps Mission Plan contributed the most towards the creation of Pakistan between 1940 and 1947. Explain why you might agree and disagree. (14)

Ans: Cripps Mission was sent in March 1942. The British needed Indian support in the WWII. So, they dispatched a team, the Cripps Mission led by Sir Stafford Cripps, with a set of proposals for the future of India in March 1942. The Cripps Mission proposed the possibility of dominion states for India after the war. It also provided for any province to opt out of the proposed Union of India. The Plan reflected British willingness to gradually decolonize India. Gandhi and Jinnah rejected the proposals and this showed the possibility of a united stance against the British, though Gandhi and Jinnah had their own reasons to reject it. For Gandhi, the British were not in a position to put forward such a scheme as they would have to leave India sooner or later. He, therefore, commented on the plan by saying that it was a post-dated cheque on a failing bank. He launched the Quit India movement and was arrested with many other INC leaders. Jinnah felt disappointed as he wanted a clear mention of Pakistan and was not satisfied with the 'opting out clause'. So, the plan was turned down by Indians. The British, it seems, had indirectly acknowledge the idea of Pakistan. Two years before the Cripps Mission, a historic session of ML was held in Minto Park Lahore, 22-23 March, 1940. It was presided over by Mr. Jinnah. Maulvi Fazal ul Haq presented the Lahore Resolution demanding that 'Regions in which the Muslims are numerically a majority, as in the north western and eastern zone of India, should be grouped to constitute independent state(s) in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. The Resolution was passed on 23rd March and eventually became known as the Pakistan Resolution. The Resolution was unanimously adopted by all ML representatives from both Muslims majority and Muslim minority provinces. It was a success for ML as it now formally started the Pakistan Movement and mobilized Indian Muslims on the ML platform for their common goal.

After Gandhi was released from jail, he wrote to Jinnah to hold talks with him about the future of India. Jinnah accepted it and invited Gandhi at his home in Bombay. Several rounds of talk were held in June, 1944. The talks showed Gandhi's acknowledgement of Jinnah as a major leader and ML as a major Muslim Political party. He also suggested joint struggle of INC and ML after which the partition of India could be discussed. This shows his conditional acceptance of Pakistan. Though Gandhi rejected the two nation theory by saying that Muslims were mainly local converts, Jinnah asserted that Muslims were a nation by any definition because of their historic, cultural, religious and linguistic differences with Hindus. Jinnah asked for keeping the defence and foreign affairs under the provincial governments in case of a united India. This shows strength of Jinnah's determination for achieving Pakistan.

The 1945-46 elections results were in favour of Pakistan. ML swept the board with 87% of the Muslim votes. In the Central Assembly, ML won all 30 seats reserved for Muslims. In the Provincial Assemblies too it performed impressively by winning 446/495 seats. The results proved that ML was the only major party for Muslims. Performance of ML justified and augmented its demand for Pakistan.

Finally, after hectic efforts, Lord Mountbatten announced the plan of independence of India on 3rd June, 1947. Under the 3rd June Plan India was to be divided into two states, India and Pakistan on 15th August 1947. Each state was to have a Dominion status with an Executive (Governor General) responsible to a Constituent Assembly (parliament). Muslim majority provinces would vote to remain part of India or join Pakistan. As a result of voting Sindh and Balochistan joined Pakistan whereas Punjab and Bengal got divided along communal lines. After a referendum, the NWFP also joined Pakistan. The 3rd June Plan was the fruit of all efforts of Jinnah and ML in keeping Indian Muslims united for a common goal of achieving Pakistan. The Plan also reflected the magnitude of the pressure of ML on both the British and INC.

Cripps Mission may be regarded as the most important contribution towards Pakistan because through it British demonstrated their willingness to leave and hinted at the possibility of Pakistan. This boosted the confidence of ML making it more determined.

Or

Students may give the following judgement:

The Lahore Resolution was the most important factor in the creation of Pakistan because it was a collective demand of Muslims of both Muslim majority and Muslim minority provinces through the platform of ML. After the passage of Lahore Resolution ML remained unshaken in its commitment of achieving a separate homeland for Muslims.

Q: To what extent was Direct Action Day more significant in the creation of Pakistan than other key events of the 1940s? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans.

Muslim League (ML) was concerned over future of Muslims after British departure. It decided to show solidarity and strength of Muslims. Lord Wavell's invitation to the Congress to form an interim government added to their concerns. It was also known that a majority of the Labour Members of the Parliament were more sympathetic to the Congress than to the Idea of Pakistan. In July 1946, it passed a resolution asking Muslims to prepare for the final struggle against both the British and Congress. On 16th August 1946, the Direct Action Day was observed to demonstrate the strength of Muslim feelings, and to stop the British government giving in to the Congress. Jinnah called on Muslims to protest peacefully and in a disciplined manner. However, violence erupted and spread to several parts of India. In Calcutta alone 4000 deaths were reported. British got worried about a civil war and had to change their plan for partition.

A historic session of ML was held in Minto Park Lahore, 22-23 March, 1940. It was presided over by Mr. Jinnah. Maulvi Fazal ul Haq presented the Lahore Resolution demanding that 'Regions in which the Muslims are numerically a majority, as in the north western and eastern zone of India, should be grouped to constitute independent state(s) in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. The Resolution was passed on 23rd March and eventually became known as the Pakistan Resolution. This marked the start of an active struggle for Pakistan.

The British needed Indian support in the WWII. So, they dispatched a team, the Cripps Mission led by Sir Stafford Cripps, with a set of proposals for the future of India in March 1942. The Cripps Mission proposed the possibility of dominion states for India after the war. It also provided for any province to opt out of the proposed Union of India. The Plan reflected British willingness to gradually decolonize India. Gandhi rejected the plan as he knew the British would soon be leaving India. He launched the Quit India movement and was arrested with many other INC leaders. Jinnah felt disappointed as he wanted a clear mention of Pakistan and was not satisfied with the 'opting out clause'. So, the plan was turned down by Indians. The British, it seems, had indirectly acknowledge the idea of Pakistan.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks were held in June, 1944. Gandhi suggested a joint struggle of INC and ML after which the partition of India could be discussed. This shows his conditional acceptance of Pakistan. Though Gandhi rejected the two nation theory by saying that Muslims were mainly local converts, Jinnah asserted that Muslims were a nation by any definition because of their historic, cultural, religious and linguistic differences with Hindus. Jinnah asked for keeping the defence and foreign affairs under the provincial governments in case of a united India. This shows strength of Jinnah's determination for achieving Pakistan.

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It may be concluded that Direct Action Day contributed the most towards the creation of Pakistan because the British were persuaded to re-evaluate the demand of ML for a separate Muslim homeland. The resultant violence forced the British to accept the idea of Pakistan.

Section 3

(1947-1999)

1947-1948

Problems of Partition and the Achievements of Mr. Jinnah

Early difficulties/Problems of Partition:

(1) Geographical problems:

Two wings, 1600Km Indian territory b/w E & W Pakistan; communication difficult b/w the two wings; gulf b/w E & W Pak would widen also due to cultural, political and historical differences; E.Pak, mainly Bengalis; W.Pak, diverse racial graph; Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans, Baloch.

(2) Political problems:

India had an established govt infrastructure; state buildings, officials, team of experienced politicians, guidance of Mountbatten; 1st Gov General; Pak's 1st Govt & Constituent. Assembly; mainly rich landowners, some civil servants with little experience; E.Pak; above 50% population but bulk of civil and military establishment from W.Pak; Jinnah had to find a capital, form a govt & inculcate feeling of national unity among the people; falling health of Jinnah; tuberculosis with overwork; performed most executive duties though G.G.was not required to do (later this precedent would be misused by selfish politicians).

(3) Economic Problems;

Mostly underdeveloped parts; 90% rural population; 8 towns with population over 100,000+ Karachi, the only developed city; no surplus agricultural production except for jute; world's 70% jute in E.Pak but no jute mill' few other industries cotton textile, cement & sugar.

(4) Social Problems:

Diverse regional & linguistic group lacking common values except for Islam; lack of nationalism of a single nation; Bengal & Balochistan reluctantly joined Pakistan, so did the NWFP; Urdu not accepted sincerely as the national language.

(5) Princely States:

462 princely states; choice of accession to Pak/India; most states joined either country based on location & population composition; problem in Hyderabad, Junagarh & Kashmir; Hyderabad and Junagarh; Muslim rulers, non-Muslim majority, geographically closer to India; Muslim rulers wanted to join Pak, India forcibly took over both (Aug 1948, Hyderabad; Nov 1947 Junagarh).

Trouble in Kashmir; largest state, Muslim majority, Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh, wanted accession to India; forced Muslims to leave Kashmir; unrest, Indian troops, 1st war over Kashmir; UN mediated a ceasefire, January 1948; Azad Kashmir & IHK (Indian Held Kashmir) by a Line of Control; issue; Unresolved, no referendum as promised by Nehra.

(6) Division of assets:

Financial assets at 17:5 for India & Pak; Pak's share Rs. 750 m; India gave Rs.200m only; war began, India with held the rest; argued Pak would get weapons for war, asked Pak to forget Kashmir; Gandhi's influence; another Rs.500 m to Pak.

Military assets; Pak needed weapons & force for security; 36% & 64%; for Pak & India, after a lot Brit reluctance to division; India gave worn out, damaged weapons to Pak; Pak, short of officers; had to hire Brit officers for its army; no ordinance factory in Pak & India refused any factory to Pak; paid Rs.60 m & Pak built a factory at Wah. Division of regiments only went smooth; Muslim troops to Pak & non-Muslims to India.

(7) The Canal Water Dispute:

Rivers of Pak from India; headworks of canals in Indian Punjab due to division of Punjab; Indian promise not to stop water but soon it closed two headworks; Ferozpur and Madhapur (Bari Doab Canal) Indian; claim that the headworks in its territory; Pak argued its economy depended on irrigation canals; May 1948, a temporary agreement, India allowed flow of water conditionally; mediation of World Bank, Indus Water Treaty, 1960.

(8) Accommodation of refugees:

violence in Punjab & other provinces even before partition; millions of Muslims were forced to migrate to Pak; migrants were attacked by Sikhs & Hindus; two millions in Karachi alone; poor resources in Pak to provide medical care & shelter; more burden on a newly created & underdeveloped country.

Achievements of Jinnah/Govt of Pak in overcoming early difficulties:

- Mix of successes & failures in one year:

(1) Making a government:

Vital to run a state ; announced 1st Constituent Assembly, Cabinet under P.M Liaqat Ali Khan, Karachi as Capital, Urdu as national language, Central Secertariat; himself as G.G. (Gov General); even then performed most of executive functions. Inexperienced politicians & civil servants + shortage of officers & equipment remained a problem; constitution not made in his life

(2) Nation building:

Urged to promote nationalism, reject regional & linguistic differences; Urdu, the only national language, though E. Pak resented it; Declared himself "Protector General" of minorities to counter religious Intolerance; encouraged nation to accommodate refugees; set up Relief Fund for recognition of Pak as nation state, membership of UNO, Sep 1947.

(3) Building an economy:

State Bank of Pak, July 1948

- Announced first industrial policy, 1948 to set up industries
- Compromise with India in the Canal water dispute; Indian promise not to damage Pakistan's agriculture
- Pak share of financial assets.

(4) Establishing National Security;

- Hired Brit officers in Pak Army
- Set up HQ's of the armed forces
- 1st ordinance factory, Wah.
- Mobilized army in the 1st Indo-Pak war, 1948.
- Stressed, Pak not to be a military state, asked military to act as servants to the people.
- Continued to work for the Kashmir issue till his death.
- Laid basis of Pak's foreign policy; wished Pak-India relation like those of USA-Canada; the dream was materialized.

Q: What was the Canal Water Dispute? (4)

Ans. With the division of Punjab, some of the headworks of rivers of Pakistani Punjab were left in the Indian Punjab. On 1st April 1948, India closed the Ferozpur and Madhapur headworks, Pakistan faced serious shortage of water as its irrigation system of 6 rivers and 30 canals was seriously affected. Millions of acres of agricultural land was threatened. Negotiations began between the two states, and in May 1948 some water was reinstated by India. The issue was fully settled under the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) in September 1960

Q: Describe the refugee problem? (4)

Ans. Communal riots had started in the summer of 1947, and worsened with the announcement of the Radcliffe Award. Millions of people found themselves living in the wrong country and were forced to migrate. About 10 million people, both Muslims and non-Muslims migrated across the Pak-India border. Migrating caravans were attacked that led to large scale violence and massacre. Around one million people were killed and 20 million were rendered homeless. Karachi received 2 million refugees alone.

Q: Describe the problem of the division of the financial assets. (4)

Ans. The British decided to divide all financial assets on the ratio of 17 to India and 5 to Pakistan. In June 1947, the British agreed to pay 750 million rupees to Pakistan out of a total of 4 billion rupees in the Reserve Bank. First 200 million rupees were paid but the remaining amount was stopped as the first Kashmir war broke out in 1948. India feared that Pakistan could use the money to buy weapons to fight against India. On Gandhi's insistence, a further 500 million rupees were given to Pakistan and the remaining 50 million rupees were never paid.

Q: Describe the problem of the division of the military assets. (4)

Ans. In August 1947, all weapons were left in India. The British were initially reluctant to divide the armed forces and the weapons, but eventually agreed to give 36% of the assets to Pakistan and 44% to India. India deliberately gave worn out and damaged weapons to Pakistan. The armed forces personnel were given the option of joining either Pakistan or India. Majority of the Muslim regiments went to Pakistan and non-Muslim to India. Pakistan got only 2,500 trained Muslim officers against its need of 4,000.

Sample Question

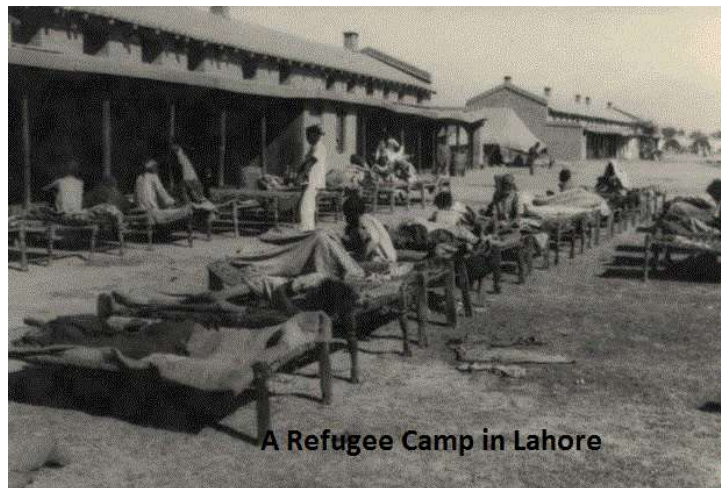
Source A, part of Jinnah's address to the Constituent Assembly in August 1947.

"If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, you will surely make remarkable progress".

Q(a): What message is being delivered by Jinnah to the Constituent Assembly? (3)

Ans. Jinnah is advising the members of the Constituent Assembly to work as a single community while forgetting all bitter memories of the past. He is pointing to the importance of developing a sense of belonging to one nation regardless of their cultural background. He is giving them a guarantee of success if they erased all other marks of distinction or identity.

Source B



A Refugee Camp in Lahore

Q.(b): Describe the condition of the refugees. [5]

Ans.

This seems to be a hastily arranged set up for the refugees. They have been given shelter in a building that looks to be a military barrack. Refugees are lying on simple cots without any additional comfort. There is no luggage visible around them and that means they have reached Pakistan leaving all their assets in India. This also means they have been forced by Hindus and Sikhs to leave for Pakistan. Many have managed to avail the shaded part of the building while many are forced to stay under the open sky. We can infer that the government and people of Pakistan will have to face this challenge on their own without any hope of any kind of foreign aid.

Source A: Part of an Article by Muhammad Iqbal Chawla of University of the Punjab
Lahore

"For Pakistan, among the scars of partition, the unfair division of the boundaries is one still abundantly draining. The friendly relations could have been established in 1947, only if Mountbatten had not become a party with Congress to help Nehru have his birthplace-Kashmir by making Radcliffe to compromise in the Radcliffe Award. The Boundary

Commission did not do justice with Pakistan as it gave Gurdaspur, a Muslim majority district to India.”

Q.1 (a) What does source A tell us about the problems resulting from the Radcliffe Award?
[3]

Ans.

According to the source Pakistan continues to have a bleeding wound by the unfair division of the boundaries between the two states. It was possible to have friendly Indo-Pak relations if Mountbatten had stayed neutral. Giving Gurdaspur to India was an injustice to Pakistan.



Source B, a photograph of refugees migrating to Pakistan in 1947.

Q. Describe what Source B talks about the condition of refugees.
[5]

Ans.

This is migrating caravan of very poor refugees who have failed to board a train or bus. The refugees barely managed to get some bull cart that has a limited capacity to accommodate many passengers. Those on the bull cart are carrying some of their belongings. This means they had a threat to their lives due to which they had to leave their native towns in a hurry. These emigrants perhaps had been denied any road or railway transport means. Many refugees are accompanying the cart partly to provide security, and partly to reach Pakistan in groups. Accommodation of refugees would become a major problem for the newly created state of Pakistan.

Q: Why was Pakistan faced with a refugee problem in 1947? (7)

Ans.

Communal violence had started in India in the summer of 1947 when the 3rd June Plan was announced. Although Congress and the Muslim League called for peace, violence grew across India with the passage of time. Several Muslims wanted to live in their independent homeland. They began to migrate, and these migrating families were attacked by angry mobs led by extremist Hindus and Sikhs.

The Radcliffe Award divided Bengal and Punjab along religious lines into the Indian and Pakistani provinces. With this many people found themselves living in the wrong country. Muslims in many parts of Punjab and neighbouring provinces were forced to leave India. It is alleged that the Indian government deliberately created difficulties for the newly created state of Pakistan. In non-Muslim princely states the local authorities used troops to support attacks on Muslims, forcing them to migrate. Karachi alone received about 2 million emigrants.

Things got so worse that martial law was imposed on Delhi in September 1947 to stop the massacre of Muslims. Hindus and Sikhs living in Pakistan were, in retaliation, targeted by the Pakistani Muslims. They attacked their houses and forced them to leave Pakistan. Consequently, round 20 million people became homeless in both the countries. Nearly one million deaths were reported of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. It became difficult for Pakistan to accommodate so many refugees as it did not have enough resources to provide food, shelter, clothing and medical aid to a huge population of refugees.

Q: Formation of a government was the most important challenge faced by the newly created state of Pakistan in 1947.

Do you agree? Explain.

(14)

Ans: Pakistan had to make an efficient government in 1947. There was a shortage of the state buildings, office equipment and devoted and experienced politicians. Also, there were not many experienced officers and civil servants to run the state affairs. Except for Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and few others, most of the politicians were either inexperienced or insincere. India, on the other hand, had a huge team of skilled politicians with Lord Mountbatten as its 1st Governor General. Therefore, Pakistan found it difficult to build a strong political base. The process of making a constitution was also delayed as there were not many experts in the Constituent Assembly. Due to a shortage of state buildings, military barracks were temporarily used as offices. Above all, Jinnah's deteriorating health and his death only one year after the creation of Pakistan worsened the political problems.

Division of military and financial assets was also a major dispute. Pakistan needed funds and military equipment to run the state affairs and ensure its defence. India unwillingly gave damaged and worn out weapons to Pakistan under the agreed ratio of 36% of military assets for Pakistan. So, Pakistan was forced to build an arms manufacturing factory, the POF (Pakistan Ordnance Factory) at Wah. Only the division of the troops went smoothly as majority of Muslim troops opted for Pakistan and majority of non-Muslims for India. Similarly, out of a total of 750 million rupees, the Indian government first gave only 200 million rupees to Pakistan. Then the war on Kashmir broke out and India withheld the remaining payment saying Pakistan would buy weapons with that money. On Gandhi's insistence, another 500 million rupees were given to Pakistan. The remaining 50 million rupees were never paid.

Another big problem was the accommodation of refugees coming from India. After partition of India, Muslims living in the Indian Punjab and the neighbouring districts were forced to migrate to Pakistan. The migrating families were attacked in an organized way by the militant Hindus and Sikhs. Pakistan began to receive trains loaded with the dead and the injured. The government of Pakistan had little to provide shelter, medical care and food to millions of refugees on urgent grounds. They were accommodated in refugee camps and military barracks without appropriate facilities of living.

Then there was the issue of the division of the canal water. In April 1948, India closed the two headworks Madhupur and Ferozpur that controlled the waters of Ravi and Sutlej rivers of Pakistan. This created a serious shortage of water threatening the crop production in the affected areas of Punjab. This issue was finally solved under the mediation of the World Bank through Indus Water Treaty in 1960.

Division of the princely states was also a problem. India had a total of 462 princely states and these states were given choice of accession either to India or to Pakistan after the partition. 459 states joined either state on the basis of their location and population composition quite smoothly. Problem arose in the states of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir. Hyderabad and Junagadh had Muslim rulers ruling the non-Muslim majority states. India occupied the two states using its military. State of Jammu and Kashmir had a Muslim majority but was ruled by the Maharaja of the Dogra Dynasty. Much to the disappointment of the Kashmiri Muslims, the Maharaja continued to delay the announcement of accession to Pakistan. This led to protest and violence in Kashmir. The Maharaja invited the Indian army to help him, and this resulted in the 1st Pak-India war in the start of 1948. A ceasefire was reached with the help of the UN and a temporary boundary line, the LoC (Line of Control) was drawn between the IHK (Indian Held Kashmir) and Azad Kashmir. It still remains an unresolved issue between the two states.

East and West Pakistan were separated by a 1600 km long Indian territory. This created difficulties of communication between the two wings of Pakistan. People living in the two wings were often ignorant of the problems of each other. This geographical gap was exploited by India to create difficulties for Pakistan. During the Pak-India war, the Indian government would deny its territory to the Pakistani aeroplanes flying between East and West Pakistan. Moreover, the cultural differences between the two wings and within West Pakistan also created political and social problems. Various cultural communities of Pakistan had little in common except for Islam.

It seems that formation of a government was the most important problem because if Pakistan had established a concrete political foundation after independence, it would have been able to overcome other problems with less difficulty while starting some social development projects with a team of expert politicians.

Q: “Dealing with economic issues was the most important contribution made by the Quaid-e-Azam as the first Governor-General of Pakistan.” Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.

(14)

Ans:

Mr. Jinnah became the first Governor General of Pakistan, in August 1947. India had withheld Pakistan's share in the financial and military assets. Mr. Jinnah negotiated with the Indian government for the release of 750 million rupees. He took several other steps to run the newly created state. He inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan in July 1948, and Pakistan issued its own currency. A Development Board was set up in 1948 for planning a strategy for the industrial development. When India closed the Ferozpur and Madhapur headworks, Pakistan faced serious shortage of water. Mr. Jinnah persuaded the Indian government to release some water so that Pakistan's agriculture was not destroyed. The issue of canal waters was, however, fully resolved as late as 1960.

The Government of Pakistan presented its first budget in 1948-49. It was a balanced budget which indicated Pakistan's stable economic conditions. However, despite his best efforts, there was no major industrial development till the 1960's. India gave 700 million rupees to Pakistan but the remaining 50 million were never paid. Jinnah took various steps for the formation of a government. He declared Karachi as the capital of Pakistan and inaugurated the headquarters of the armed forces and the civil secretariat. He made it clear that the sole role of the army was to be 'the servant of the people'. However, the future governments could not keep army from politics.

Jinnah appointed the first Constituent Assembly and the first cabinet with Liaqat Ali Khan as the Prime Minister. The 1935 Act was adopted as the interim constitution with some amendments. He urged the civil servants to dedicate their lives to the service of the nation. In order to highlight Pakistan's peaceful aims, Pakistan joined the UNO in September 1947. Jinnah wanted peaceful relations with India just like the US-Canada relations.

However, Jinnah retained executive powers which, according to the parliamentary form of government, should have been relegated to the PM. He used to chair the Cabinet meetings, and take important decisions. This was used as a wrong precedent by the future Governor Generals. The process of constitution making was lingered on even after his death as he had to induct some non-political figures in the cabinet due to a shortage of genuine politicians. His dream of good relations with India was also shattered and both countries had their first war in 1948.

For building a nation, Jinnah declared Urdu as the national language, so that it could unify various linguistic groups in Pakistan. In order to ensure the protection of religious minorities Jinnah declared himself as the "Protector General of Minorities". In his address to the Constituent Assembly, he had made it clear that all Pakistanis were free to follow their religion without any fear. Declaring Urdu as the only national language was strongly resented by East Pakistan where all people spoke Bengali. They considered this as a step of West Pakistan's domination over East Pakistan. The Quaid was opposed to religious intolerance, provincialism and racialism. In order to safeguard the rights of the minorities, and project Pakistan as a tolerant state he adopted the symbolic title of the 'Protector-General' of religious minorities. His advice was often sought by the non-Muslims, and he inducted a Hindu minister in the cabinet.

To help the refugees, he set up the Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund, and temporarily shifted his headquarter to Lahore to personally supervise the process of their accommodation. Unfortunately, millions of refugees would continue to suffer after his death because of shortage of the required resources. All of them could not get medical care, jobs and accommodation. He also negotiated with the Indian government for the Canal Water

dispute, and persuaded it not to stop the water altogether. The conflict was, however, fully resolved years after his death in 1960.

In order to resolve the conflict of the three princely states of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Jammu and Kashmir he could not get any success as India occupied the first two states by force and imposed a war on Pakistan for Kashmir in April 1948. Thus Jinnah's dream of peaceful relations with India was shattered. To conclude it may be said that Jinnah was quite successful in overcoming most of the early problems because, against all odds and wishes of India, Pakistan not only survived but also began to make progress in various sectors of economy and became an important country in the regional and global politics.

Q. How successful was the Government of Pakistan in solving the problems of partition?

[14]

Or

How successful was Jinnah in developing the newly created state of Pakistan?

[14]

Ans.

Jinnah faced many serious challenges to run the newly created state of Pakistan. After the 3rd June 1947 Plan, the ML had a little over two months to make preparations for handling the largest Muslim state in the world. In order to frame a constitution, he established the Constituent Assembly on 10 August 1947, under his Chairmanship. He addressed the Assembly on 11 August, and urged the need of making a constitution for Pakistan. The 1935 Act was adopted as the interim constitution with some amendments. He declared Karachi as the Capital of Pakistan. There he set up the first Civil Secretariat, and urged the civil servants to dedicate their lives to the service of the nation. He inaugurated the headquarters of three armed forces, and negotiated with India for the release of military and financial assets for the defence of Pakistan. An ordinance factory, the POF, was set up in Wah. In order to highlight Pakistan's peaceful aims, Pakistan joined the UNO in September 1947. Jinnah wanted peaceful relations with India just like the US-Canada relations.

However, it is to be noted that Jinnah retained the executive powers which, according to the parliamentary form of government, should have been relegated to the PM. He used to chair the cabinet meetings, and take important decisions himself. This was used as a wrong precedent by the future Governor Generals. The process of constitution making was lingered on even after his death as he had to induct some non-political figures in the cabinet due to a shortage of genuine politicians. His dream of good relations with India was also shattered and both countries had their first war in 1948. However, due to his failing health, other problems of partition created by India, and a lack of sincere and experienced constitutional experts, there was no progress on constitution making.

Jinnah inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan in July 1948 so that Pakistan introduced its own currency. The Government of Pakistan presented its first budget in 1948-49. It was a balanced budget which indicated Pakistan's stable economic conditions. He also announced the First Industrial Policy of Pakistan. However, despite his best efforts, there was no major industrial development till the 1960's. India gave 700 million rupees to Pakistan but the remaining 50 million were never paid.

The Quaid was opposed to religious intolerance, provincialism and racialism. He advised the people to think, feel and act as Pakistanis and be proud of it. He toured all the areas of Pakistan to spread the message of Pakistani nationalism. In order to safeguard the rights of the minorities, and project Pakistan as a tolerant state he adopted the symbolic title of the 'Protector-General' of religious minorities. His advice was often sought by the non-Muslims, and he inducted a Hindu minister in the cabinet. He emphasized the Islamic ideas about justice and equality demanded that any non-Muslims who chose to remain in Pakistan should be treated fairly. Jinnah could do little about the geographical distance of 1,000 miles between East and West Pakistan. This geographical distance would gradually become a political gulf that would lead to the separation of East Pakistan in 1971.

To help the newly arrived refugees he set up a Relief Fund to rehabilitate them as quickly as possible, and temporarily shifted his headquarter to Lahore to personally supervise the process of their accommodation. Unfortunately, millions of refugees would continue to suffer after his death because of shortage of the required resources. All of them could not get medical care, jobs and accommodation. He also negotiated with the Indian government for the Canal Water dispute, and persuaded it not to stop the water altogether. The conflict was, however, fully resolved years after his death in 1960.

Jinnah wanted to resolve the issue of the three princely states of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Jammu and Kashmir but could not get any success as India occupied the first two states by force and imposed a war on Pakistan for Kashmir in April 1948. Thus Jinnah's dream of peaceful relations with India was shattered.

To conclude it may be said that Jinnah was quite successful in overcoming most of the early problems because of his firm determination, political insight and strong leadership qualities. He made all achievements while suffering from the terminal stage of pulmonary tuberculosis that could not deter him from his mission.

1948-1958

Kh. Nazimud Din, 2nd G.G. of Pak [Sep 48 – Oct 51]

Allowed L.A Khan to exercise executive powers, role of G.G became less important

(1) March, 1949;

The Objective Resolution; Pak being run under the Indian Independence Act; an amended version of the 1935 Act.

- The constituent Assembly set up a Basic Principles Committee to draw principles of future constitution.
- Finding of the Committee are called the Objectives Resolution; democracy, independent judiciary, fundamental human rights, Islam & protection of minorities etc.
- Presented to the Assembly, Sep 1950
- It was opposed & criticized by:
 - The religious groups who considered it insufficiently Islamic
 - E.Pak who resented equal seats of W.Pak as it had more population resented

- & Urdu as the national language
- Provincial politicians who wanted provincial autonomy & opposed power to G.G. and central govt.

(2) PRODA (Public & Representatives Office Disqualification Act).

Complaints against corrupt officials, inquiry by judges & debarring those found guilty
Mainly, misused by govt against the opposition.

(3) Minorities Agreement /Liaqat –Nehru Pact;

- Stopped movement of refugees across the border and visa system for refugees

(4) Hyderabad, Junagarh and Kashmir;

- 17 Sep 1947, Indian attack on Hyderabad; 5 Jan 1948 UNO arranged a ceasefire on the Kashmir war
- India occupied Junagarh; February 1948, under a plebiscite about 99% of the population voted to join India. Thus Junagarh part of India.

(5) Rawalpindi conspiracy, 1951;

Jan 1951, Gen-Gracey was replaced by Gen Ayub.

- Now most officers were Pakistani
- Many officers still unhappy & organized a failed coup against the Govt, March 1951; the Rawalpindi conspiracy
- Arrest of 15 officers & punishment
- 16 Oct 1951; Liaqat was shot dead, Rawalpindi.

3rd G.G, Malik Ghulam Muhammad (MGM) Oct 1951 – Aug 1955.

- Death of L.A Khan; MGM, former Finance Minister, replaced Kh.Nazim as G.G Kh.Nazim became P.M
- 1951, a six year plan for economic development by the Planning Commission
- 1953, a Planning Board to review the development & prepared a five year Plan to follow on from the six year plan from 1956
- 1952; 1st jute mill, Narayargang, E.Pak & discovery of natural gas, Sui, Balochistan.
- 1951-53, severe food shortage violence against govt + about the Qadians – Dec, 1952, revised version of Basic Principles Committee's report.
- Apr 1953, Kh.Nazim was replaced by Muhammad Ali Bogra.
Under Bogra's govt:

- Apr 1953; US, Canada, Australia extended aid to Pak
- Planning Board + Pak joined the CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation), 1954
Revised version of the constitutional report unpopular; MGM wanted to dominate but Bogra didn't allow.
- In absence of MGM, Bogra got it up provisions approved by the Assembly e.g. G.G. to act on advice of his ministers, & the ministers to be members of Assembly.
- PRODA was also repealed in the same session.
- MGM sent Bogra abroad, dismissed his govt, Sep 1954
- Appeal of Maulvi Tamizud Din, Speaker of the Assembly, was upheld by Sindh High Court but the Federal Court gave decision in favour of MGM.
- New Assembly, July 1955
- Aug 1955, MGM was forced to resign due to ill health
- Iskandar Mirza, 4th G.G.

Iskander Mirza (IM)
As G.G, Aug 1955 – March 1956;
As President, March 1956 – Oct 1958 Politician with a military background

- Dismissed Bogra, appointed Ch. Muhammad Ali (CMA) new PM, Sept 1955.
- Strict instructions to CMA to make the constitution
- The constitution was enforced, 23 March, 1956; Accord to it
 - Urdu and Bangali national languages
 - Equal seats of E & W Pak
 - Parliamentary form of govt but the president could close & dismiss PM.
 - Islamic provisions _____ to enforce Shariah.
 - One Unit Scheme & rule of parity to counter numerical majority of E.Pak, though it was unpopular in E.Pak & the smaller provinces of W.Pak one Unit Scheme since Oct, 1955.
- Steps for modernization of Pak e.g. industrialization, rural development, completion of Karachi airport, modernization of railway & expansion of telecommunication.
- Political differences b/w E & W Pak continued; CMA was dismissed, Sep 1956, new PM; H.S. Suhrawardy.
- Suhrawardy was replaced by I.I Chundrigar, Oct 1957
- Dec 1957, Feroz Khan Noon replaced Chundrigar.
- Noon headed a large coalition govt
- Unpopularity of I.M. grew, lost support of many politicians, postponed elections due to be held 1957
- Turned to military; 1st martial law, 7 Oct 1958
- Made Gen Ayub PM, 24 Oct 1958
- Ayub overthrew IM, took all control, 27 Oct, 1958.
- The 1956 constitution was abrogated.

Khwaja Nazimuddin to the Imposition of the First Martial Law

Q: What was the Objectives Resolution? (4)

Ans. The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan set up a Basic Principles Committee of 25 members to draft the constitution. It presented the Objectives Resolutions on 12th March 1949. It recommended observance of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice so that Muslims and non-Muslims could follow their faith comfortably. It also recommended a bicameral parliament. It was sharply criticized by the Ulama/religious scholars and the East Pakistan. This draft was presented to the Constituent Assembly on 28th September 1950.

Q: What was the PRODA/Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act? (4)

Ans. It was passed by the government of Liaqat Ali Khan and Khwaja Nazimuddin in 1949. It was aimed at curbing corruption and misuse of power by the politicians and civil servants. Complaints in this regard could be made to the Governor-General or Provincial Governors who could order an enquiry by judges. Anyone found guilty could be debarred from office for a suitable period of time. However, it was seen as a device that allowed the ruling elite to remove those it did not like. It was repealed in September 1954 by the Assembly of Malik Ghulam Muhammad.

Q: Describe the constitutional crisis of 1950. (4)

Ans. On 28th September 1950, the draft of the Objectives Resolution was presented before the Constituent Assembly. East Pakistan immediately opposed it as it wanted a share in the parliament according to the size of its population whereas the Resolution recommended equal seats of East and West Pakistan. It also opposed imposition of Urdu as the official language. The provincial politicians opposed the powers of the head of state and the central government. The Ulama considered the draft insufficiently Islamic. In November 1950, Liaqat Ali Khan had to withdraw it.

Q: Describe the Liaqat-Nehru Pact/the Minorities Pact. (4)

Ans. It was signed to stop the movement of minorities across the Pak-India border. In April 1950, Pakistani PM Liaqat Ali Khan and Indian PM Jawahar Lal Nehru signed this agreement. It was agreed that each country would provide protection and religious freedom to the religious minorities living in Pakistan and India so that these minorities would be encouraged to stay back in their native state. However, the movement of people belonging to religious minorities continued to migrate across the border as they did not trust any such statements made by the government about giving them protection.

Q: What was the Rawalpindi conspiracy case? (4)

Ans. Some army officers were not happy with the government, and they plotted a coup to overthrow the government. In March 1951, the 'Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case' was discovered by General Ayub Khan and the conspirators were arrested, tried and imprisoned. They included senior officers like Major-General Akbar Khan and 14 other officers including the famous poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz. This proved to be a forerunner of the involvement of army in the politics of Pakistan.

Q: Why was it so difficult to agree on a new Constitution in 1950? (7)

Ans. There were divergent views on the future constitution of Pakistan in 1950. The Objectives Resolution of March 1949 was the first step towards constitution making. It was presented to the Basic Principles Committee in September 1950, but majority opposed the proposals of the Committee. East Pakistan had greater population than West Pakistan and wanted seats in the bicameral parliament according to the size of its population. West Pakistan insisted on equal seats for both wings.

East Pakistan also opposed Urdu as the only national language since Bengali was a developed language and there were no regional languages in East Pakistan. Bengali was such a rich language that the famous Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore, became the first Indian to receive the Nobel Prize in literature. There were riots against Urdu in East Pakistan till both Urdu and Bengali were declared the national languages.

Many regional and religious politicians also opposed the proposals. For provincial parties, powers of the President and the central government had to be reduced in order to guarantee provincial autonomy. Religious parties wanted enforcement of the Sharia' (Islamic law) and considered the Resolution insufficiently Islamic. Finally, Liaqat Ali Khan had to withdraw the constitutional proposals and Pakistan would have to wait another six years to have its own constitution.

Q: Describe the 1954-55 constitutional crisis. (4)

Ans. Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad wanted to retain the executive powers whereas his PM, Muhammad Ali Bogra opposed him. He was in favour of a purely parliamentary form of government with the PM as the executive head of state. On 21st September 1954, Bogra got an important bill passed by the Assembly while Ghulam Muhammad was abroad. Under the bill, it was binding on the Governor-General to take the advice of his Ministers. The Assembly also repealed the PRODA (Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act). Ghulam Muhammad, acting quickly, dissolved the Constituent Assembly and dismissed the Bogra government on 29 September 1954.

Source A: Part of a joint statement of Liaqat Ali Khan and Nehru

"With a heavy heart we both have reached a consensus about stopping the movement of minorities across the Indo-Pak border. We know well this will lead to division of millions of families. However, this will give an opportunity to both the countries to set examples of tolerance and generosity towards the respective minorities. We pledge to materialize this dream."

Q.1 (a) According to source A what message is being delivered by the two heads of states?

[3]

Ans.

India and Pakistan have agreed to stop the movement of minorities from one to the other country. Both the Prime Ministers are expressing their sadness over the decision. They want to set example of kind treatment of minorities.



Source B, a photograph of Liaqat-Nehru Pact signed in New Delhi in 1950.

Q. What does Source B tell us about Pak-India relations in 1950? [5]

Ans.

This is an important meeting the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India. There are several delegates of both countries witnessing the signing of the Pact. Liaqat Ali Khan is wearing the national dress introduced by Jinnah that reflects his strong sense of Pakistani nationalism whereas Nehru is clad in typical Hindu outfit. Both Prime Ministers have reached a consensus about stopping the movement of minorities across the border as both are signing the documents. This Pact would mark a temporary improvement in Pak-India relations as well as a significant stoppage of minorities across the Indo-Pak border.

Sample Question

Source A, part of the declaration of Malik Ghulam Muhammad,

"The Governor-General, having considered the political crisis with which the country is faced, has decided to declare a state of emergency. The Constituent Assembly, as at present constituted, has lost the confidence of the people and can no longer function. Until such time as elections are held, the administration of the country will be carried out by a reconstituted Cabinet".

Q: According to source A, how is Malik Ghulam Muhammad justifying his act? (3)

Ans. Ghulam Muhammad is referring to the political crisis that necessitated the declaration of emergency. According to his claim, the Constituent Assembly was rightly dissolved as it had lost the confidence of the people. He is talking about his plan of holding fresh elections so that a new assembly could be elected.

Source B,

A Photograph of Malik Ghulam Muhammad inaugurating the Golden Jubilee Session of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu in October 1953.



Q: What do we learn about the ambitions of Ghulam Muhammad regarding the promotion of Urdu? [5]

Ans.

The source shows a very important occasion as the Governor General is surrounded by some important state officials. The Baba-e-Urdu, Maulvi Abdul Haq is seated very close to Malik Ghulam Muhammad, that reflects the recognition of his importance in working for Urdu. Both carry a serene look that reflects their dedication to the promotion of the national language. All the participants are wearing the national dress of Pakistan, the traditional 'sherwani' with pyjamas that conveys a message of Pakistani nationalism. This will be one of a series of steps taken by various governments of Pakistan to promote national unity by way of patronizing the national language, Urdu.

Q: Describe the 1956 constitution.

[4]

Ans. It was approved by the 2nd Constituent Assembly elected under the rule of Iskander Mirza. It was a compromise between the Muslim League and the United Front. Pakistan was officially called Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Mirza became the President. It empowered the president to choose the PM and dissolve the National Assembly and the Cabinet under his emergency powers. The President had to be a Muslim. There were equal seats of East and West Pakistan in the Assembly under the One Unit Scheme. It was abrogated in October 1958 under the first martial law of Pakistan.

Q: What was the One Unit Scheme? [5]

Ans. On 14th October 1955, Governor-General Iskander Mirza implemented the One Unit Scheme. Under this, all provinces of West Pakistan were unified to become a single province against the single province of East Pakistan. Both East and West Pakistan were given equal seats in the National Assembly though East Pakistan had 10 million more people than West Pakistan. Therefore, it was opposed by East Pakistan and the smaller provinces of West Pakistan. However, it remained valid in the 1956 and the 1962 constitutions. It was scrapped by General Yahya Khan in March 1969.

Q: What was the SEATO/South East Asia Treaty Organization? [4]

Ans. In September 1954 the SEATO was set up to counter the communist/Soviet influence in the South East Asian states. Its members were the US, the UK, France, the Philippines, Thailand, New Zealand and Australia. Pakistan joined it in 1955 in the face of fierce opposition at home. Under the treaty, if any member was attacked by a communist state, it could seek help from other members. Pakistan tried to persuade the members to set up a permanent military to protect all members against an attack by any country but in vain. Thus Pakistan failed to receive any help by the SEATO in the 1965 and 1971 wars. It left it in 1972.

Q: What was the CENTO/Central Treaty Organization? [4]

Ans. It was a US-sponsored military bloc aimed at countering the communist/Soviet influence in the Middle East. Initially, Turkey and Iraq had signed the treaty called the Baghdad Pact in 1955. Pakistan, Iran and the UK joined it the same year. Iraq left it in 1959 because of a revolution, and the treaty was renamed CENTO. However, despite regular meetings the group never became a permanent structure with a combined army. Like the SEATO, it too could not help Pakistan in the 1965 and 1971 wars. It was dissolved in 1979.

Q: Who of the following contributed the most to Pakistan's domestic policies between 1948 and 1958:

- (i) Liaquat Ali Khan**
- (ii) Malik Ghulam Muhammad;**
- (iii) Iskander Mirza**

Explain with reference to all three above. (14)

Ans. All 3 had their own achievements. Liaquat Ali Khan acted as PM first with Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Khawaja Nazam ud Din became 2nd Governor General in September, 1948 and Liaquat Ali Khan made some achievements. His major contribution was the passage of the Objectives Resolution in March 1949. It was a constitutional draft that outlined the objectives and principles of the future constitution of Pakistan. It was reviewed by the Basic Principles Committee in September 1950 and the revised draft recommended a bicameral legislature/parliament with both houses having equal powers. Urdu was kept as national language and President was to be elected by the joint session of the parliament. However, the religious parties declared it insufficiently Islamic. East Pakistan objected to equal share in the parliament as it had 10% more population than West Pakistan. It also criticized on Urdu being the only national language because Bengali was also a developed and only language spoken throughout East Pakistan.

Liaquat Ali Khan managed to keep Pakistan's economy growing by presenting surplus budgets. Also, he implemented the PRODA (Public and Representative Officers Disqualification Act) in order to curtail corruption in Pakistan. However, corruption would continue to bother future governments.

Liaquat Ali Khan was able to foil a coup of about 20 military officers who were unhappy over the presence and influence of British officers in the Pakistan Army. In March 1951, in the famous Rawalpindi Conspiracy case, Major Akbar Khan and fourteen other officers were arrested. However, in October 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan was killed in Rawalpindi while addressing a public rally.

Malik Ghulam Muhammad became the 3rd Governor General in Oct. 1951. He persuaded Khawaja Nazam ud Din to step down as Prime Minister enticing him that he would enjoy more executive powers. Being an expert in financial affairs he introduced the scheme of 6 Year Plan that was later changed into a 5 Year Plan. Its aim was to make economic planning regarding agriculture, industry, power and transport sectors. He set up a Planning Board in 1953 to review various developments schemes. A major jute processing plant was set up in 1952 in East Pakistan as a result of efforts for exploring oil and gas reserves, natural gas was discovered at Sui in Balochistan in 1952.

In 1952-53 Pakistan had positive Balance of Payment (BOP) due to a huge demand of cotton and jute in the wake of the Korean war that caused large scale export of these commodities.

During the same period, however, there was serious food shortage due to severe drought in East and West Pakistan. This caused unrest and violence that was aggravated by an anti-Qadiani movement. Religious parties demanded removal of Qadinis /Ahmadis from key posts including the foreign minister Sir Zafar ullah Khan, Malik Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Khawaja Nazam ud Din in April 1953 on his failure to control the crisis.

Muhammad Ali Bogra, the new PM, worked on constitution making. He was ready to implement the constitution in December 1954. A clause about restricting the powers of the Governor General was passed in just 15 minutes in the absence of Malik Ghulam Muhammad. PRODA was also abolished as G.G could misuse it. When M.G.Muhammad came to know about this he quickly acted and dismissed Bogra's government and dissolved the Constituent Assembly in September 1954. The new Constituent Assembly was elected in June 1955. In August 1955 M.G. Muhammad fell ill and Iskandar Mirza became the new Governor General.

Mirza, a retired military general, took bold steps. First he dismissed Bogra and appointed Ch. Muhammad Ali as new P.M. Ch. M. Ali drafted Pakistan's first Constitution that was implemented in March 1956. It introduced federal, parliamentary form of government though the President had powers to appoint and dismiss the P.M. Under the One Unit Scheme, East and West Pakistan had equal seats in the one house parliament, the National Assembly. However, the Constitution was abrogated in Oct.,1958 by Mirza himself.

The One Unit Scheme, introduced in Oct.,1955 was aimed at unity by merging together all provinces of West Pakistan to make two provinces East and West Pakistan. It, however was bitterly opposed by E. Pakistan and smaller provinces of W. Pakistan

Mirza also started some industrialization and development plans as well as rural development schemes. Karachi airport was completed, railways were modernized and telephone network was expanded. Steps were taken for provision of health and education.

Mirza failed to have good relations with his Prime Ministers and dismissed them at short intervals. Ch. M. Ali was replaced by Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy in Sept.,1956. Suharwardy was replaced by I.I. Chundrigar in Oct.,1957 who himself was dismissed in Dec.,1957. Malik Feroze Khan Noon was the last civilian P.M. under Mirza from Dec.,1957 to 7th October, 1958. Finally, on 7th Oct., 1958 he declared Martial Law and appointed General Ayub Khan as the CMLA (Chief Martial Law Administrator).

In conclusion, Liaqat Ali Khan seems to be the most successful as he took first step towards political and economic stability of Pakistan. The Objectives Resolution of March 1949 remains the preamble of the 1973 Constitution till today.

Q: Why were there so many governments between 1951 and 1958? (7)

Ans. Pakistan did not have a good team of skilled politicians. Jinnah died in 1948 without accomplishing his mission of providing a strong political base to Pakistan. Murder of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951 worsened the political conditions as the newly created state of Pakistan lost the two most experienced leaders and the country went in the hands of inexperienced and selfish politicians like Malik Ghulam Muhammad and Iskander Mirza. Due to their flawed policies, there was political instability and uncertainty between 1951 and 1958. Several prime ministers were dismissed and the first Constituent Assembly was dissolved by Malik Ghulam Muhammad in September 1954.

The Indian government was bent upon creating difficulties for Pakistan. It continued to delay the release of Pakistan's share of assets and announce the accession of the State of Kashmir to Pakistan. It imposed a war on Pakistan in 1948 as a result of which Pakistan was forced to pay more attention on its defence instead of building a strong political foundation. The Indian PM Mr Nehru never fulfilled the promise of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir in the 1950s which led to failed relations between the two states. India closed the two headworks in the Indian Punjab that supplied water to Pakistan and this added to the problems of Pakistan throughout the 1950s.

East Pakistan wanted a share in the government according to its population size that was 10% greater than that of West Pakistan but it was given equal seats in the National Assembly under the undemocratic One Unit Scheme and the rule of parity. West Pakistan dominated the political affairs with Karachi as the capital and the headquarters of the armed forces located in its territory. Declaring Urdu as the national language further alienated East Pakistan, and the geographical distance between the two wings of Pakistan gradually became a political gulf.

Q: Why did Ayub Khan come to power in 1958? / Why was martial law imposed in Pakistan in 1958? (7)

Ans. Political instability worsened between 1955 and 1958 as several Prime Ministers were dismissed in this period. Differences between West and East Pakistan grew as the latter wanted a share in the government according to its population size that was 10% greater than that of West Pakistan but it was given equal seats in the National Assembly under the undemocratic One Unit Scheme and the rule of parity. West Pakistan's dominance over the political affairs was strongly resented by East Pakistan as it was already backward economically.

The 1956 Constitution empowered the President to nominate and dismiss the Prime Minister. President Iskander Mirza terminated as many as four governments between 1955 and 1958 as a result of which he began to lose popularity and power. PM Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy gave very tough time to Mirza by uniting the major political leaders of Punjab and Bengal against him. He challenged Mirza to hold a vote in the Assembly to test his popularity. Mirza feared a defeat and, therefore, decided to declare martial law on 7th October 1958 and appointed General Ayub Khan as the CMLA (Chief Martial Law Administrator).

Ayub was appointed Prime Minister by Mirza on 24th October 1958. Ayub had already declined an offer from Ghulam Muhammad to take over the country as its executive head. Now he could see the nominal powers of Mirza who was holding his post forcefully. Therefore, Ayub decided to assume power himself. He removed Mirza from office and himself became the executive head of state on 27th October 1958.

1958-1969

Ayub Khan Oct 1958 – March 1969

Introduction:

- 7 Oct 1958, 1st martial law on Pakistan by Iskandar Mirza → General Ayub as CMLA (Chief Martial Law Administrator) → all assemblies were dissolved, the 1956 constitution was abrogated
- 27 Oct 1958, I.Mirza was removed & all powers with Ayub → 27 Oct 1958 → Glorious Revolution
- 27 Oct 1958 → Justice Munir of Supreme Court validated the martial law.
- Ayub started a number of reforms.

Political Reforms

- Why → Ayub opposed parliamentary democracy → “ a luxury that Pakistan couldn't afford”
- Believed in some kind of “ controlled democracy” or “democracy with discipline”
- Political instability b/w 1951 & 1958
- Believed in the Presidential form of government.

Details:

27 Oct 1959 → Basic Democracies Ordinance

- Basic Democracy → a four tier structure of elected & nominated/official bodies
 - (1) Local Committees → (a) Union Councils and (b) Tehsil Councils, elected by ordinary people
 - (2) (a) District & (b) Divisional Council elected by the local committees, run jointly by the civil servants (District & Divisional Commissioners) and the elected councils.
- Also, a Co-ordination Committee to Co-ordinate b/w Local & District Councils
- Two Provincial Development Advisory Councils (PDAC) to co-ordinate b/w the provincial governors & Divisional Councils.
- All these councils to supervise local development schemes e.g. sanitation, health, education, roads, raising taxes.
- Elected members of Local Committees were called BD's (Basic Democrats).
- Vote of confidence by BD's, 1959 → more than 90% supported Ayub.
- 120,000 BD's from E & W Pakistan, 1st elections, Dec 1959-Jan 1960.
- BD's formed Electoral College to elect NA that, in turn, elected the President.
- Shifted capital from Karachi to Islamabad.

The 1962 Constitution

- No constitution since Oct 1958
- New Constituent Commission drafted the 1962 Constitution; adopted without debate by NA (National Assembly), 1 March, 1962.

Main Features

- Presidential form of govt → President could be removed only by an impeachment motion of NA
- One house of parliament → NA, with equal seats of E & W Pak
- President nominated: the cabinet from NA; provincial governors & the heads of judiciary

- NA to make all laws with President's approval → even $\frac{3}{4}$ th majority of NA couldn't force him to approve a law he didn't like.
- If President from W, the speaker NA to be from E. Pakistan
- NA sessions alternately held at Dhakka & Islamabad.
- Urdu & Bengali national languages.

Result of political reforms:

Political stability in start

- BD's → a clever system to legalize Ayub's powers
- No political parties were allowed to take part in elections for BD's.
- Major landlords dominated & influenced the BD elections due to their strong social position.
- E. Pakistan not happy with equal seats in NA, unusual powers of the President, who was from W. Pakistan
- E. Pakistan felt being ruled by Civil & Military establishment of W. Pakistan.
- Elections for President, Jan 1965 → Ayub's Conventional Muslim League → 64%; combined opposition under Fatima Jinnah → 36% Ayub began to lose popularity

Agricultural Reforms

Why →

- Need of increased productivity & yield for a rapidly growing population
- Need of modernization of agriculture
- Unfair distribution of land → V. large land holdings with powerful land owners & fragmented holdings with several poor farmers.

Details →

- Land reforms, 1959 → no farm to be smaller than 12.5 acres: land ceiling: not larger than 500 acres of irrigated & 1000 acres of unirrigated land holdings
- Redistribution of fragmented holdings to make larger holding by joining; owners of big holdings were forced to find tenants for parts of their lands.
- Modern methods → HYV/GM seeds, mechanization, chemical fertilizers, insecticides/pesticides etc
- IWT 1960 → dams, barrages, canals for irrigation
- Loans to farmers to build tube wells.

Results:

- Increased land productivity & crop yield
- Ayub named these reforms a 'Green Revolution'
- Poor success rate of land reforms due to strong social position of big landowners
- Modern methods (machinery etc) were affordable by rich farmers only → economic disparity b/w rich & poor farmers, in the long run

Industrial Reforms

Why →

- Poor industrial base since 1947
- Availability of funds from : sale of agricultural output, donor countries e.g. USA, UK, Germany

- Economic advisors, esp those from the Harvard University

Details →

- Encouraged private sector for manufacturing industries by incentives→ Export Bonus Scheme, tax holiday, stable policies, abolition of Business Profit Tax
- Borrowed loans from the West
- Oil refinery, Karachi, 1962-RCD with the Iran & Turkey to promote mutual trade & economic ties, in 1964
- PMDC (Pakistan Mineral Development Corporation) for exploration & exploitation of Minerals
- 2nd Five year plan for economic development (1960-65)

Results →

- Immediate results quite impressive→ 7% annual growth rate (thrice that of India), 14% increase in per capita income
- Industrial growth
- Long term→ undue concentration of wealth in few hands→22 families owned 66% industries & 80% of banking & insurance
- All from W.Pakistan
- High economic disparity b/w E & W Pak & within W.Pak as most schemes were launched in W.Pak.
- Dependence on foreign aid increased → it would have long term serious consequences in later years

Social Reforms

Why→ to improve literacy, health care; to reform civil laws; to control high population growth rate. Details→

- Free, compulsory primary education→ new schools & colleges; technical education institutes; new hospitals, medical colleges; family Planning programs; new Family Laws→ registration of marriage/ divorce; nursing training schools
- Revised curriculum & text books
- Housing Schemes in Karachi for the refugees, under General Azam.

Results →

- Mix of success & failure → better health & education care, though literacy didn't improve a lot.
 - Religious scholars opposed Family Planning & Family Laws
- Success in providing houses to the shelterless.

Fall of Ayub Khan

- 2nd Indo-Pak war, 1965, over the Kashmir issue
- Ayub's presumption of liberating Kashmir but neither country was victorious
- Ayub's false claim of victory → the Tashkent Accord exposed the truth & the nation felt betrayed & shocked
- Ayub sacked foreign minister Z.A.Bhutto whom he blamed for the failure of the war
- Political unrest → Z.A.Bhutto emerged as the main opposition leader, formed his own party → the PPP & mobilized masses against Ayub
- Strikes, arrests but violence grew
- Combined opposition – DAC (Democratic Action Committee)
- Thousands of BD's resigned

- Unpopularity of all reforms
- Feb 1969 → lifted emergency to negotiate with the DAC, but too late
- 25 March 1969→ resigned & handed power to Gen Yahya Khan→ 2nd martial law.

Ayub Khan

Q: What were the Basic Democracies? (4)

Ans. These were the local governments announced under the Basic Democracies Order of 26th October 1959. People elected the Basic Democrats of the union councils in the 1959-60 elections held on non-party basis. They then elected the councils for tehsil, district and division. 80,000 Basic Democrats thus elected, formed the Electoral College to elect the President. 95% of them elected Ayub Khan in a referendum on 17th February 1960. These were abolished by General Yahya Khan in 1969.

Q: Describe the 1962 Constitution. (4)

Ans. It was implemented on 1st March 1962 by a Constituent Commission appointed by Ayub Khan. The President was the executive head of the state elected by the electoral college of the Basic Democrats. He nominated the Cabinet from the members of the National Assembly. He also nominated the provincial governors and the heads of the judiciary. The National Assembly had equal seats of East and West Pakistan, and could not pass a law without the approval of the President. Urdu and Bengali were declared as the national languages. It was abrogated by General Yahya Khan in April 1969.

Q: What was the Green Revolution? (4)

Ans. Ayub's agricultural reforms are called the Green Revolution. Under this HYV (High Yield Variety) seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides were used to maximize the crop yield. Tractors, harvesters and threshers were also introduced to speed up various processes. Under the Land Reforms Act of 1959, smaller land holdings were consolidated while an upper limit or a land ceiling was fixed for the ownership of the land holdings. As a result, the agricultural output increased significantly.

Q: Describe Ayub's fall from power. (4)

Ans. After the signing of the Tashkent Accord in 1966, Ayub's foreign minister Z.A. Bhutto resigned and formed his own political party, the PPP/Pakistan People's Party in 1967. He mobilized masses against Ayub with the help of the Democratic Action Committee. In East Pakistan, Sheikh Mujeeb had emerged as the most popular leader. Ayub's celebration of the Decade of Development from 27th October 1967 to 27th October 1968 was greatly resented by a majority. Ayub failed to negotiate a settlement with the opposition and declared martial law on 17th March 1969. A week later, he resigned on 25th March 1969 and handed over power to the army chief General Yahya Khan.

Ayub's visit to Moscow, USSR

Q: Describe Ayub's visit to Moscow (4)

Ans:

The new Soviet President Khrushchev showed interest in establishing friendly relations with Pakistan. He extended an invitation to President Ayub Khan to visit Moscow. Pakistani government was already upset by the U-2 incident of 1959 and the US military aid to India in 1962, while it was already receiving aid from the Soviet Union. So, Ayub visited the Soviet capital Moscow in April 1965. Both sides discussed matters of bilateral interests including the Pak-US relations, and the Soviet support to India and Afghanistan. Pakistan received a package of financial aid from the Soviets, and signed agreements about trade and oil exploration. Soviet PM Alexis Kosygin declared it a successful visit.

Q: What was the Operation Grand Slam?(4)

Ans:

It was a plan drafted in May 1965 by the Pakistan Army. Under this, the army had to attack the Akhnoor Bridge in Jammu and Kashmir, the lifeline of a full Indian infantry division as well as a possible post to target Jammu and Kashmir. Unfortunately it failed as the military objectives were not achieved and the Pakistan Army had to retreat. This operation escalated to the second Indo-Pak war in September 1965.

Q: What was the Operation Gibraltar? (4)

Ans.

It was a secret military operation started by the Pakistan Army in August 1965. The Kashmir Regular Force troops entered the Indian Held Kashmir (IHK) in order to organize an uprising of the Kashmiri Muslims. However, due to poor coordination the operation didn't achieve its objectives, and the presence of Pak Army was discovered by India. This, like the Operation Grand Slam, eventually led to the second Indo-Pak war in September 1965.

Who was Fatimah Jinnah? [4]

Ans.

She was born as sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in July 1893. She sacrificed her career as dentist for the sake of supporting Jinnah especially after the death of his wife. She stood by Jinnah's side in his struggle for Pakistan. She contested elections of the Basic Democracies in 1965 as a strong rival to Gen. Ayub Khan and managed to bag 36% of the total votes. Due to her popularity and respect she was given the titles of Khatoon-i-Pakistan (First Lady of Pakistan) and Madar-i-Millat (Mother of the nation). She died in Karachi in July 1967.

Q: Why were the years 1958 to 1969 called the ‘Decade of Progress’?
(7)

Ans. Ayub started many economic development projects. He hired economists and advisers, many of whom had been trained in the Harvard University, the USA. He got huge amounts of foreign aid that was used to stimulate industrialization. He offered several incentives to the private sectors that included concession in taxes, tax holiday and the Export Bonus Scheme. These measures attracted a great number of industrialists and the large scale manufacturing industry grew rapidly. During the Second Five Year Plan (1960-1965), manufacturing output grew at an annual average rate of around 11.5%. During this period people's incomes went up by an average of 14%. As a result, Pakistan achieved a very high economic growth rate of 7% that was thrice that of India.

Ayub's agricultural reforms are rightly called the Green Revolution. He introduced modernization of agriculture. Tractors with other machines, HYV (High Yield Variety) seeds, chemical fertilizers and insecticides and pesticides were used to maximize agricultural output. Under the IWT (Indus Water Treaty) 1960, Pakistan was funded to build large dams and barrages. Thus water for irrigation and power production was stored on large scale and output of major crops increased significantly.

His social reforms were also very popular. In order to provide better health care, new medical colleges and hospitals were setup. Attempts were made to control a high population growth rate through a family planning programme. He tried to raise the literacy rate by encouraging primary education, and set up polytechnic institutes to prepare a trained industrial workforce. Though most of the benefits of these reforms went to West Pakistan, Ayub was able to deflect criticism by celebrating the Decade of Development in 1968.

Q “Agricultural reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan’s domestic policies.” Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans: Ayub Agricultural reforms were very successful. He wanted to modernize agriculture and ensure a fair distribution of land holdings. Majority of farmers were poor and possessed smaller than standard size land holdings (fragmented holdings of less than 12.5 hectares) which caused poor yield. On the other hand, a small percentage of rich land owners (zamindars) were in possession of unusually large land holdings that were under the tenant cultivators. Under the 1959 land reforms, no land owner could possess more than 1000 acres of un-irrigated or 500 acres of irrigated land holdings. The excess land was to be taken by the government and given to the poor farmers. The smaller holdings were joined under the land consolidation. Due to strong social position of landed aristocrats (many of whom were members of parliament) the success rate of these reforms was very poor, though some people benefitted from it. In order to produce agricultural raw material and feed a growing population agriculture was modernized. Under this, mechanization, chemical fertilizers, HYV (High Yield Variety) or GM (genetically modified) seeds, insecticides /pesticides and modern irrigation methods were introduced. Under the Indus Water Treaty 1960, three new dams and several perennial canals were built. Loans were given to poor farmers. Land productivity increased impressively and therefore Ayub’s agricultural reforms were called Green Revolution. However, these caused economic disparity between the rich and the poor farmers because the main beneficiaries were the rich farmers. Industry had remained neglected throughout the 1950’s and due to the Green Revolution agricultural raw material was abundantly available. Moreover, foreign aid was given to Pakistan by the USA, UK and Germany. And Oil refinery was setup at Karachi to reduce the import cost of oil. To extract minerals, the Mineral Development Corporation was setup. To encourage the private sector, a number of incentives were offered that included subsidies and taxes, tax holiday and the Export Bonus Scheme (EBS). Large scale industrialization took place in the 1960s that resulted in a robust economic growth rate of 7%, one of the highest in the world. However, these reforms too caused huge disparity between the rich and the poor. By 1968 only 22 families (mostly from W. Pakistan) owned 66% industries and 80% banking and insurance. Hence, sense of deprivation grew among the E. Pakistanis as most of the development was in W Pakistan.

In politics, Ayub opposed the western democracy and believed in a kind of “controlled democracy” or “democracy with discipline” because there was high degree of instability in the 1950s, specially 1955 to 1958. Ayub also, a new constitution was needed as the 1956 constitution had been abrogated into Oct., 1958. Ayub introduced the Basic Democracies (BD’s) under the Basic Democracies Order, Oct., 1959 it was a four tier system under which elections were held at village, tehsil, district and division level to elect the union council, tehsil council, district council and divisional council. In the first elections of 1959-60, 80,000 BD’s were elected which were later increased to 120,000. These BD’s were responsible for local development including health, education, local taxes, water and sanitation and roads. They also formed an Electoral College to elect the members of the assemblies and thence to elect the President. Two PDAC’s (Provincial Development Advisory Councils) were created to coordinate between BD’s E & W Pakistan. Ayub shifted the Capital from Karachi to Islamabad.

The new Constitution was enforced in March 1962 and it introduced Presidential form of government. President, elected by the Electoral College for five years, had all executive powers. He could pass any laws and reject / annul any laws made by the National Assembly. He could dissolve the assemblies under his emergency powers. The National Assembly, also elected by the Electoral College, had equal seats of East and West Pakistan under the One Unit Schemes. There were two provincial assemblies one each for East and West Pakistan. These reforms ensured political stability for many years but the indirect election and powers of the President were criticized specially by East Pakistan.

In order to improve a poor literacy rate, provide better healthcare and control a high population growth rate, Ayub set up new schools, technical training institutes and medical institutes and hospitals. Under the new Family Laws, polygamy was discouraged. These had some degree of success.

Ayub's agricultural reforms seem to be most successful because they benefitted not only the farming community but also contributed towards an appreciable industrial growth by providing plenty of raw material for agro-based industries.

Alternative Judgements

- Political reforms of Ayub Khan may be declared his greatest achievement because he not only ensured stable political system but also was able to implement his other reforms
- Ayub's industrial reforms were most successful because they created several jobs and improved the economic growth rate of Pakistan which became model for some of the "Asian Tigers" like, South Korea and Malaysia.

Instruction:

Candidates may skip the social reforms if they face the problem of time management, but if the question mentions "social reforms", first paragraph should contain details of social reforms. In such a case, any one of the remaining three reforms may be skipped.

Were the economic reforms of Ayub Khan the most important of his domestic policies in the 'Decade of Progress' between 1958 and 1969? Explain your answer.

[14]

Ans.

Ayub's economic reforms comprised a series of steps in the agricultural and industrial sectors. He wanted to modernize agriculture and ensure a fair distribution of land holdings. Majority of farmers were poor and possessed smaller than standard size land holdings (fragmented holdings of less than 12.5 hectares) which caused poor yield. On the other hand, a small percentage of rich land owners (zamindars) were in possession of unusually large land holdings that were under the tenant cultivators. Under the 1959 land reforms, no land owner could possess more than 1000 acres of un-irrigated or 500 acres of irrigated land holdings. The excess land was to be taken by the government and given to the poor farmers. The smaller holdings were joined under the land consolidation. Due to strong social position of landed aristocrats (many of whom were members of parliament) the success rate of these reforms was very poor, though some people benefitted from it.

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In politics, Ayub opposed the western democracy and believed in a kind of "controlled democracy" or "democracy with discipline" because there was high degree of instability in the 1950s, especially 1955 to 1958. Ayub also, a new constitution was needed as the 1956 constitution had been abrogated in Oct., 1958. Ayub introduced the Basic Democracies (BD's) under the Basic Democracies Order, Oct., 1959 it was a four tier system under which elections were held at village, tehsil, district and division level to elect the union council, tehsil council, district council and divisional council. In the first elections of 1959-60, 80,000 BD's were elected which were later increased to 120,000. These BD's were responsible for local development including health, education, local taxes, water and sanitation and roads. They also formed an Electoral College to elect the members of the assemblies and thence to elect the President. Two PDAC's (Provincial Development Advisory Councils) were created to coordinate between BD's East and West Pakistan. Ayub shifted the Capital from Karachi to Islamabad.

The new Constitution was enforced in March 1962 and it introduced Presidential form of government. President, elected by the electoral college for five years, had all executive powers. He could pass any laws and reject / annul any laws made by the National Assembly. He could dissolve the assemblies under his emergency powers. The National Assembly, also elected by the electoral college, had equal seats of East and West Pakistan under the One Unit Schemes. There were two provincial assemblies one each for East and West Pakistan. These reforms ensured political stability for many years but the indirect election and powers of the President were criticized specially by East Pakistan.

In order to improve a poor literacy rate, provide better healthcare and control a high population growth rate, Ayub set up new schools, technical training institutes and medical institutes and hospitals. Under the new Family Laws, polygamy was discouraged. These had some degree of success. New medical colleges and hospitals were set up to provide health care at a larger scale. Steps were taken against hoarding goods and selling them at inflated prices. The prices of milk and other food items were fixed to stop profiteering that helped families to live comfortably.

Ayub's economic reforms seem to be most successful because there was a generalized state of prosperity coupled with political stability. This helped Ayub to stimulate many development projects and gain popularity for a longer period of time.

Q: Why was Islamabad chosen as the new capital of Pakistan? (7)

Ans. Islamabad was located at a better place. Ayub wanted to be closer to the army's command headquarters (GHQ) in Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab which he considered vital in times of martial law. Also, he got closer to Punjab and the NWFP (KPK) that provided bulk of troops for the armed forces of Pakistan. He could see a visible influence of the commercial districts of Karachi on many of the government officials. Many of them had started taking interest in trade instead of their official duties. Development of Karachi as the port and the capital city had left northern Pakistan relatively under developed. Ayub wanted to shift the power base from the industrially and commercially developed south to the Punjab in the north. Karachi has a warm and humid climate whereas Islamabad was located at the Margalla hills near Murree with a pleasant climate suitable for working. It was an abandoned place where it was easier to build a planned city with a desired layout. Karachi had become overburdened with a growth of buildings and population due to large scale influx of refugees from India and rural-urban migration. The existing state buildings in Karachi were not adequate to meet the needs of a modern capital. Karachi's location on the Indus Delta Coast made it vulnerable to attacks by the Indian navy. In such a case, there was a fear of huge cost of reconstruction if it was destroyed by the Indians in case of a war. Islamabad, being a land locked city, was at a reasonable distance from the Pak-India border and was a much better option. Therefore, construction work was continued in the 1960s and the capital was officially shifted to Islamabad in 1967.

Q: Why did Ayub Khan fall from power? (7)

Ans. Ayub had become unpopular by 1969. His agricultural reforms had created huge disparity between the rich and the poor farmers. As a result of his industrial reforms, only 22 families of West Pakistan became owners of 66% of Pakistan's industries and 80% of banking and insurance companies. People were angry on the celebration of the Decade of Development from 27th October 1967 to 27th October 1968 in which millions of rupees were spent while there was large scale unemployment. East Pakistan also felt frustrated as most of the beneficiaries of Ayub's reforms were from West Pakistan. Moreover, East Pakistan complained of being left unguarded in the 1965 Pak-India war. His political reforms also became target of criticism as he was accused of intimidation and vote-rigging in the second presidential elections that were held in January 1965. In these, Fatimah Jinnah managed to get about 36% votes against Ayub Khan. Concentration of powers with the president was considered undemocratic as the National Assembly could not pass any law without his consent. Most of his Basic Democrats had resigned by the start of 1969. Ayub especially became unpopular after the 1965 Pak-India war. He felt he had to accept a humiliating ceasefire against the advice of his foreign minister Z. A. Bhutto. Ayub had been assuring his people of Pakistan's victory in the war but the Tashkent Accord of 1966 contained no reference to this or the Kashmir issue. Bhutto resigned in protest and founded the PPP/Pakistan People's Party in 1967. Being a very charismatic leader, he mobilized masses and launched an anti-Ayub campaign. In January 1969 eight political parties formed the Democratic Action Committee and demanded general elections. Ayub's failure to negotiate with them ended in his resignation on 25th March 1969.

Q. How successful was Ayub Khan in improving Pakistan's relations with other states during his rule? [10]

Ans.

Ayub was quite successful in his foreign affairs. Though he had offended the Americans by visiting China and the USSR/Soviet Union in the early 1960s, he was able to maintain friendly relations with the USA. He allowed the US to build air bases in Pakistan and remained loyal to the US during the Pak-USSR conflict over the U-2 crisis. 1966 onwards the US aid to Pakistan was restored. Ayub paid a historic visit to Washington in July 1961. The US President J.F. Kennedy hosted a dinner in the White House that was attended by 140 guests. It is described as the most dramatic and the most famous state dinner in White House history. In return Mrs J.F. Kennedy paid a visit to Pakistan in 1963, and was given Ayub's favourite horse Sardar. When Ayub fell from power, the US was quite concerned over the rise of a socialist-minded Z.A. Bhutto. Pakistan protested when the US extended military aid to India in the India-China war, in September 1962. Ayub argued that the US should at least have consulted Pakistan before extending aid to India. He also argued that the Americans should have pressurized India to accept arbitration on the Kashmir issue in return for the US aid. Pakistan felt let down when the US aid to both Pakistan and India was stopped in the 1965 war. Ayub's visits to China in 1962, and the USSR in 1965 also displeased the USA.

Ayub laid the foundation of Pak-USSR relations by paying a visit to Moscow in 1965 after the incident of the U-2 spy plane in 1960. However, in 1961 the USSR offered some oil exploration projects to Pakistan. Pakistan got a chance to get closer to both the USSR and China in the 1962 Indo-China war. Consequently Pakistan received a Soviet aid of 11 million pounds, and instead of supporting India over the Kashmir issue, the USSR adopted a neutral stance. Therefore, in April 1965, Ayub paid a visit to Moscow and signed agreements on oil exploration in Pakistan. In January 1966, the Soviet Union mediated a peace treaty, the Tashkent Accord, between India and Pakistan after the 1965 war. In 1968, when the Americans began to close their airbase at Peshawar, the Soviets began military aid to Pakistan. That year Pakistan was the recipient of military aid from three mutually hostile super powers, the US, the USSR and China, though the USSR was not happy with Pakistan receiving aid from the other two super powers. The U-2 incident greatly angered the Soviets in 1960. U-2 was an American spy plane that flew from the Peshawar air base, and was captured by the Soviets. The Soviet President threatened Pakistan of serious consequences of a similar misadventure in future. In the 1965 war, when US aid for Pakistan was stopped, the Soviet aid to India greatly affected Pak-Soviet relations.

Ayub is also credited with the start of successful Pak-China relations. The Indo-China war of 1962 gave Pakistan an opportunity to improve relations with China. In March 1962, Pakistan and China began talks to settle their border dispute, and successfully settled the issue by March 1963. China gave many concessions to Pakistan as it wanted to counter India-USSR alliance with the help of Pakistan. In 1963, both countries signed many trade agreements, and China granted Pakistan an interest free loan of 60 million dollars. In August 1963, regular PIA flights to China further improved bilateral trade. In 1964-65, China openly supported Pakistan for the Kashmir issue. Pakistan, in return, supported China's entry into the UN at a time when the US was supporting the anti-communist Taiwan as the legitimate government of China. China extended moral and material aid to Pakistan in the 1965 war and applied diplomatic pressure on India. 1958-1962 there had been almost no progress in Pak-China relations mainly because of Pakistan's heavy dependence on the US.

Pak-UK relations generally remained successful in the 1960s. Britain played a major role in ending the 1965 war as both were members of the anti-communist blocs, SEATO and CENTO. The final agreement was signed in June 1965 at the Commonwealth Conference, London. Several Pakistanis availed the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act to migrate to the UK. They sent heavy remittances to Pakistan while working in the UK. The Queen

Elizabeth-II visited Pakistan in 1961 as the Head of the Commonwealth. However, Ayub's visit to Moscow and Beijing somewhat worried the British authorities.

Pakistan and India signed the Indus Water Treaty in 1960 to resolve the canal water dispute. In 1966, they signed the Tashkent Accord after the 1965 war. Pakistan was rightly worried over India receiving the US aid in 1962. Both countries failed to resolve the Kashmir issue, and fought their second war in September 1965. India was not happy over Pakistan's aid from three super powers in the late 1960s.

Pakistan Iran and Turkey signed the RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development) in July 1964. Work was done on the RCD Highway and railway track. Many agreements were signed to promote trade and cultural relations. However, Afghanistan refused to join the RCD. Though most of the Afghanis supported Pakistan in the 1965 war, the Afghan government remained neutral.

It may be concluded that Ayub Khan was quite successful in his foreign relations as his era marked significant progress in extracting military and economic aid from the three super powers as well as with the Muslim states. The economic aid was used to initiate industrial and agricultural reforms.

Sample Question

Source A, a comment made by Quaid-e-Azam's sister, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, in an interview with the Morning News, 29 October 1958.

"A new era has begun under General Ayub Khan and the armed forces have undertaken to root out the administrative malaise and anti-social practices, to create a sense of confidence, security and stability and eventually to bring the country back to normalcy. I hope and pray Allah may give them the wisdom and strength to achieve their objective."

Q:(a) According to Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah what is going to happen in Pakistan? (3)

Ans. Miss Jinnah is expressing her hope of a better future of Pakistan under the military rule of Ayub Khan. She is pointing to the prevailing political and social problems that justified the martial law. She is conveying her best wishes to the military ruler for the success of his mission of restoring political stability in Pakistan.

Source B: a photograph on the title page of the weekly magazine, TIME, showing heads of states of Pakistan and India.



Q.(b) According to source B what do we learn about Pak-India relations in 1965? [5]

Ans.

The source represents tense relations between the two states. President Ayub Khan and PM Shastri carry a very stern look that reflects the hostile mood of the two heads. The two swords are shown striking against each other meaning thereby a state of war between India and Pakistan. Both Ayub and Shastri seem to be determined to firmly stick to their guns, that implies the war was not going to end soon. The source tells that the world powers are quite worried about this new war in South Asia. The war would drastically affect the relations between Pakistan and India.

Source A: part of information obtained from an article by Mansoor Akbar Kundi,

“Pakistan’s Foreign Policy underwent rapid changes under Ayub Khan. It was the ultimate result of Pakistan’s need for security and development as well as preservation of its ideology, the core principles of its governments. Ayub Khan adopted a policy more consistent that it was in the Past due to frequent changes in ministries and governments. Ayub Khan was in a better position to take independent decisions.”

Q.1 (a) Describe Mr Kundi’s views about the Pak-US relations during Ayub’s regime. [3]

Ans.

The Foreign Policy of Pakistan witnessed rapid changes during Ayub’s rule. This was because of Pakistan’s need of security and development while preserving. Ayub Khan’s policy was more consistent due to his firm grip on state affairs as against the political instability of the previous years.



Source B, a photograph taken during Ayub's visit to USA in July 1961.

Q. What message Source B convey about Pak-US relations in the early 1960s?

[5]

Ans.

The Source displays a historic occasion of Pak-US relations. There is a huge crowd wearing both western and eastern outfits that means American citizens of Asian origin are also excited on Ayub's visit. This also means the President Kennedy wants draw public attention to his successful foreign policy. Both Ayub and J.F. Kennedy look happy and overjoyed that means both leaders are eagerly willing to improve relations between the two countries. A historic dinner was arranged in honour of Ayub Khan. Shortly after this meeting, the US military aid to India in the Sino-India war of 1962 would damage Pak-US relations.

1969-1971

Reasons for the Creation of Bangla Desh/ Separation of E.Pakistan

Political, economic, cultural reasons:

- Political→ W.Pak's dominance in political affairs→most political decisions, politicians who ruled, HQ's of the armed forces, civil servants in W.Pak→ more than ten years of Ayub's rule→ a military general from W.Pak; rule of parity & One Unit scheme denied E.Pak its due share in govt by countering its numerical majority (55% of total

population of Pak); E.Pak felt undefended as most of army on W.Pak border with India.

- Economic→ E.Pak less developed since 1947→ economic disparity grew during Ayub's reforms of 1960's→ W.Pak benefited more from these reforms→ W.Pak's per capita income greater than that of E.Pak; trade of E.Pak with the Indian Bangal cut off since 1947 →Sh.Mujeeb claimed "flight of capital" from E to W.Pak→ resources of E.Pak spent on development of W.Pak.
- Cultural→ E.Pak people's pride in their rich cultural heritage →art, literature, music, dance etc→ W.Pak looked down upon Bengali culture → civil servants of W.Pak treated Bangalis with arrogance.
- Post-1970 election crisis → AL (Awami League) got majority (160/300 Seats) but W.Pak disallowed Sh. Mujeeb to form govt in the centre→ Z.A.Bhutto & General Yahya backed out their promise with Sh.Mujeeb to make him President; start of military operation in E.Pak, March 1971 – The Operation Searchlight; Bengali separatist militant organization, Mukti Bahini (People's Army) was trained & equipped by Indian Army→ civil war, violence, feelings of separatism grew with military operation & with the rejection of Sh.Mujeeb's six points → events escalated to 3rd Indo-Pak war, Dec 1971 → 1600km Indian territory b/w E & W Pak made it impossible for W.Pak to win the war → 16 Dec 1971, Pak army surrendered before Indian army, Dhakka→more than 90,000 Pak troops in Indian custody.

Reasons for Pakistan's Defeat in the 1971 War

- E.Pak determined to resist W.Pak army that desperately tried to keep E.Bengal part of Pakistan →poor morale of Pak army to fight against fellow Muslims.
- 1600 km long distance b/w E & W Pak → very difficult to sustain supplies from W to E with Indian territory b/w the two wings.
- Poor chance of support by Pak's allies → US & UN not interested in supporting Pak in its internal matters; Treaty of Peace, Friendship & Commerce, Aug 1971, b/w India and USSR blocked China's possible aid to Pak → India continued to receive Soviet aid.

Separation of East Pakistan



Q: Who was General Yahya Khan?

(4)

Ans.

He was a distinguished military officer who had fought in the British Eighth Army in the Second World War. He was the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army when Ayub handed him power after imposing the second martial law in March 1969. He held first general elections in Pakistan in 1970 but could not control the resultant political crisis in East Pakistan. He started military operation in East Pakistan in March 1971 that escalated to the third Pak-India war in December 1971 and defeat of Pakistan. This made him extremely unpopular and he died in a state of house arrest in 1980.

Q: Who was Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman?

(4)

Ans. He was the founder of the Awami League in 1949 that eventually became the most popular political party of East Pakistan. He presented his six points in February 1966 in which he demanded complete internal and fiscal provincial autonomy as a solution to the growing political and economic disparity between East and West Pakistan. West Pakistan rejected them as they would mean a nominal federal government. Mujeeb won a huge majority in 1970 elections but was arrested by West Pakistan. He became the first Prime Minister of Bangladesh in 1971 but proved to be an autocratic ruler. In August 1975, he and his wife were killed in a military coup.

Q: What were Sheikh Mujeeb's six points? (4)

Ans. Sheikh Mujeeb, the most popular leader of East Pakistan, presented his six points in February 1966. He wanted direct elections on the basis of universal suffrage and a federal government that would control only defence and foreign affairs. All other powers, including foreign trade, were to be given to the provincial governments. He also demanded two separate and mutually convertible currencies as well as paramilitary forces for East and West Pakistan. His party, the Awami League, won a decisive majority in the 1970 elections because of his six points. Failure of any negotiation between Sheikh Mujeeb and the West Pakistani leaders led to the separation of East Pakistan in December 1971.

Q: What was the Operation Searchlight? (4)

Ans. It was a military operation launched by General Yahya in March 1971. Its aim was to crush Bengali nationalism as Yahya thought the Awami League's campaign was a threat to Pakistan's unity. Under the operation, Bengali intelligentsia, academics and Hindus were targeted. Thousands of Bengalis were killed and press censorship was imposed in East Pakistan. In retaliation, on 26th March 1971, the Bengalis announced in a secret radio broadcast the formation of the 'Sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh'. Yahya sent more troops but the situation continued to worsen and escalated to the third Pak-India war in December 1971.

Source A: part of an article published in a Pakistani newspaper.

"It was under the pretext of the second summit of OIC held in Lahore in Feb. 1974 that Pakistan recognised the former East Pakistan as the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh. Pakistan had initially not invited Bangladesh to attend the summit. However, as members of the OIC group gathered in Lahore, several heads of the Arab states put pressure on Pakistan's PM Mr Bhutto to invite Sheikh Mujeeb, too. A seven-member delegation from OIC visited Dhaka to invite Sheikh Mujeeb to participate in the summit."

Q. (a): What do we learn about the importance of Bangladesh in the 2nd OIC summit? [3]

Ans.

The OIC platform became a source of Sheikh Mujeeb's participation in the summit. Mr Bhutto was reluctant to invite him. The Arab leaders, however, played a key role in bringing Sheikh Mujeeb to Pakistan, and attend the historic summit.

Source B: a photograph of Z.A. Bhutto, Sheikh Mujeeb and Col. Gaddafi in the 2nd OIC summit.



Q. Describe the interaction between Bhutto and Sheikh Mujeeb. [5]

Ans.

Both leaders are accompanied by the Libyan President Col. Gaddafi. All look quite cheered up, and holding each others' hands to demonstrate their ambition of promoting strong relations. Such gestures were aimed at erasing the scars of the tragedy of separation of East Pakistan in 1971. Bhutto is wearing a western dress whereas Sheikh Mujeeb is clad in a typical Bengali outfit that reflects his confidence in using national dress on such occasions. They seem to have reached some consensus about promoting bilateral ties between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Perhaps Col. Gaddafi has played an intermediary role in this important achievement of Bhutto. Bangladesh was officially recognised by Bhutto in the 2nd OIC summit, and he would visit Bangladesh in July 1974 to further strengthen friendly relations between the two countries.

Sample Question

Source A, part of a speech by Yahya Khan on 6th March 1971:

"Let me make it absolutely clear that no matter what happens, as long as I am in command of the Pakistan Forces and Head of the State, I will ensure complete and absolute integrity of Pakistan. Let there be no mistake on this point. I have a duty towards millions of people of East and West Pakistan to preserve this country. They expect this from me and I shall not fail them."

Q.(a) What message is being delivered by Yahya Khan? (3)

Ans. Yahya Khan is asserting his determination to keep Pakistan united in the capacity of the head of the state and the armed forces. He seems to go to any extent for accomplishing his mission. He is justifying his military action by referring to his responsibility towards the millions of Pakistanis.

Source B,

a photograph of a military trainer training the members of the Mukti Bahini.



Q.(b) Describe the aims and ambitions of the Mukti Bahini as shown in source B. [5]

Ans.

Members of the Mukti Bahini (the Liberation Army) seem quite determined to acquire military training. Most of them are not in proper clothing partly due to the summer heat and partly to their poverty that drove them to adopt militancy. The tent huts in the background show that it is a deserted place suitable for such secret training. The volunteer trainees are mainly young Bengali men. The trainer looks to be an army man, perhaps an Indian army officer, as he is holding the gun in a skilled way. This means the Mukti Bahini has willingly accepted the Indian aid to achieve freedom from West Pakistan. The Pak Army would be defeated by the Indian Army in the third Indo-Pak war in December 1971.

Q. (a) According to Mr Tanner, describe Bhutto's reaction against the Security Council. [3]

Ans.

Mr Bhutto has accused the Security Council of legalizing the Indian aggression. He expressed his anger by saying that he did not want to see the faces of the permanent members of the Security Council. He went to extent of saying that a destroyed Pakistan was acceptable to him.



A photograph of Mr Bhutto walking out of the UNSC session on 15 December 1971.

Q. (b) From source B what do we learn about Bhutto's presentation of Pakistan's case in the UNSC? [5]

Ans.

Mr Bhutto carries an angry look as he is walking away in an informal way. It seems to be a historic session of the UN Security Council as there are many delegates of other countries including India. Though apparently disappointed, Bhutto seems determined and firm in defending Pakistan's case in the wake of the Indian attack on East Pakistan in December 1971. Bhutto expressed his protest by tearing apart the UN resolution the Soviet Union vetoed against Pakistan's demand of withdrawal of Indian army from East Pakistan. The third Indo-Pak war was lost by Pakistan and led to the creation of Bangladesh.

Q: Why did the victory of the Awami League cause a constitutional crisis? (7)

Ans. The Awami League got a decisive majority in the 1970 elections. It won 160 out of a total of 162 seats of East Pakistan and 300 seats of the National Assembly against the PPP of West Pakistan that managed to win only 81 seats. Such a huge victory of the Awami League allowed it to form the government on its own. In other words, the future Prime Minister and his entire Cabinet could come from East Pakistan without involving the PPP of West Pakistan.

Bhutto kept all his MNAs from attending the National Assembly session scheduled to be held in Dhaka. He, in February 1971, threatened to break the legs of those who tried to attend the session. This promoted anger among the Bengali MNAs as they felt betrayed. The scheduled session of NA was thus indefinitely postponed.

General Yahya and Mr Bhutto visited Dhaka, in March 1971, and assured Sheikh Mujeeb that he would be the future head of state. Yahya invited Mujeeb to West Pakistan but the latter declined the offer thus losing a good opportunity to gain popularity in West Pakistan.

Victory of the Awami League was also problematic as it had won the election on the basis of Mujeeb's six points that asked for a complete internal autonomy of East Pakistan. He wanted provincial governments controlling foreign trade and taxation

policy. This would greatly reduce the funds available to the central government in West Pakistan in addition to limiting its powers in general. Yahya Khan and the West Pakistani politicians were not prepared to accept such a major change though Mujeeb believed that the six points were negotiable. Instead of negotiating with him, he was arrested and this marked the start of the worst kind of constitutional crisis in the history of Pakistan.

Q: Explain why East Pakistan wished to become independent of West Pakistan? (7)

Ans. There was a growing economic disparity between East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan had a weaker industrial base with fewer industries than West Pakistan. Its economy was further weakened by floods and cyclones that destroyed its infrastructure regularly. Due to the dominance of West Pakistan, most of the economic policies mainly benefited its people. This disparity increased significantly in the 1960s when 22 families of West Pakistan became owners of most of Pakistan's wealth. By 1970, the per capita income of East Pakistan was 85% that of West Pakistan. This was resented by East Pakistan.

East Pakistan was under-represented in government, armed forces and the Civil Services though it had 55% of the total population of Pakistan. Under the One Unit Scheme, both the wings were given equal seats in the National Assembly. When the Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb won a majority in the 1970 elections, West Pakistan refused to transfer power to Mujeeb. His six points directly threatened the traditional political dominance of West Pakistan. This led to a civil war in East Pakistan that became Bangladesh after West Pakistan's defeat by India in December 1971.

Both wings were separated by an Indian territory of 1600 km that resulted in difficulties in communication between the two. In times of emergencies such as floods, West Pakistan usually reacted slowly that inculcated a sense of alienation among Bengalis. Ayub's presidential form of government gave him unusual powers and this was considered undemocratic by Bengalis. For the same reason, they boycotted Ayub's celebration of the Decade of Development in 1968-1969.

Q: Why was Pakistan unsuccessful in the 1965 and 1971 wars? / Why was India successful in the 1965 and 1971 wars against Pakistan?

(7)

Ans. India was militarily superior. The 1965 war was fought on the two gross miscalculations of Ayub Khan who thought India was not prepared for a full scale war. He also expected a massive Kashmiri uprising in favour of Pakistan army. However, against all his expectations, India attacked with full force and Lahore was caught unprepared on 6th September 1965, though Pakistan defended it well. Pakistan could not receive the Western aid in the two wars. The US military aid was stopped for both Pakistan and India. It affected Pakistan more as India continued to receive the Soviet aid. It had blocked any chance of the US or Chinese aid to Pakistan by signing a strategic agreement with the USSR in August 1971. Americans and Chinese wanted Pakistan to resolve the matter on its own. Pakistan also expected some aid by the SEATO but that too was not provided. By 1971, India had developed a much bigger army against Pakistan in terms of number of troops and weapons. It exploited the civil war in East Pakistan by training and equipping the Bengali militant separatist body, the Mukti Bahini against Pakistan. People of East Pakistan, in general, wanted freedom from West Pakistan. Therefore, they did not support West Pakistan's army that was already accused of killing the Bengali intelligentsia on large scale. The 1600 km long distance from West Pakistan also played a decisive role in Pakistan's defeat.

Q: Economic factors contributed the most towards the separation of East Pakistan in 1971. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer.

(14)

Ans. Economic disparity between East and West Pakistan grew with time. East Pakistan had been poorer than West Pakistan since 1947 as its weak industrial base was repeatedly damaged by floods. Unfortunately, this gap was widened mainly due to the economic policies of Ayub Khan in the 1960s. West Pakistan became the major beneficiary of his industrial and agricultural reforms. The 22 richest families of West Pakistan owned 66% of the industries and 80% of banking and insurance companies of Pakistan. East Pakistan was the largest producer of jute in the world (producing 75% of the total world jute) but its economic growth was slower than that of West Pakistan. Earnings from the jute export and taxes collected from East Pakistan were mainly spent on the development of West Pakistan. The per capita income of East Pakistan was 85% that of West Pakistan by 1970. This means that every West Pakistani was 15% richer than his East Pakistani counterpart on the average. The Bengalis also questioned the justification of spending of the Kashmir issue while keeping East Pakistan under developed. All this promoted a sense of deprivation and frustration among the people of East Pakistan. Political factors also contributed to the separation of East Pakistan. It wanted a share in the government according to the size of the population that was 10% greater than West Pakistan (55% of the total population). This was denied to them under the One Unit Scheme and rule of parity as enforced in the 1956 and 1962 Constitutions. Most of the political decision making was done in West Pakistan. East Pakistan was under-represented in the armed forces and the Civil Services as the headquarters of the armed forces were located in West Pakistan.

The Awami League of Sheikh Mujeeb in East Pakistan won an overall majority in the 1970 elections. Mujeeb got this victory on the basis of his six points that asked for full autonomy of East Pakistan in all matters except for defence and foreign affairs. Mujeeb wanted separate fiscal, taxation and foreign trade policy of the two wings which West Pakistan could not accept as it would weaken its traditional dominance in politics and economy. Mujeeb was denied power and arrested that led to a civil war in East Pakistan. Situation worsened as General Yahya ordered a military operation in March 1971. There was massacre of Bengalis who retaliated with the help of India. The Indian army had been training and funding the Mukti Bahini, the militant Bengali separatist army. Finally, the 1971 war led to West Pakistan's defeat and creation of Bangladesh.

Cultural factors also contributed towards the tragic separation of East Pakistan. Jinnah declared Urdu as the only national language on the basis of "One Nation One Language". This was resented by East Pakistan as Bengali was a fully developed and the only language spoken throughout East Pakistan. The Bengalis took this as a step of West Pakistan's attempts to dominate them. After protests and violence, Bengali was also declared as the national language with Urdu.

East and West Pakistan were separated by a 1600 km long Indian territory and this caused difficulties in communication between the two wings. East Pakistan was regularly ravaged by floods and cyclones that further weakened its economy. Failure of West Pakistan to provide timely help in such emergencies also promoted a sense of separatism in East Pakistan. It was affected by devastating floods only a couple of months before the 1970 elections but West Pakistan did not show any concern in providing relief to the flood victims. India offered aid ostensibly on humanitarian grounds but West Pakistan did not allow it and this further hurt the people of East Pakistan.

It may be concluded that economic factors contributed the most towards the separation of East Pakistan. With a growing economic disparity and political dominance of West Pakistan, East Pakistan felt that it was continuously being exploited by West Pakistan. This situation was viewed by Bengalis as a continuation of the colonial rule on them even after independence.

Z.A. Butto 1972-1977

Z.A Bhutto

President Dec 71 - Aug 73

PM Aug 73- July 77

Hanged Apr 79

- Yahya resigned, 20 Dec 71, on fall of Dhakka (E.Pak)
- ZAB President + CMLA

Immediate Steps:

(1) Army;

wanted to limit powers to prevent interference in politics; 29 senior officers e.g. Air Marshal Rahim Khan & General Gul Hasan.

- Appointed his own men; created new post "Chief of Army Staff"
- Federal Security Force (FSF), Oct 1972, a paramilitary force to assist police.
- Simla Agreement, July 1972, with Indian P.M. Mrs. Indira Gandhi 90000 prisoners released on condition of bilateral settlement of Kashmir no third party e.g. UNO.
- Imp of Simla Agreement; increased ZAB's popularity in Pak
- Improved Pak's image; willing to negotiate without war
- Reduced dependence on military; lesser chances of war

(2) New constitution;

1962 constitution abrogated; LFO of Yahya worked only temporarily; desire for parliamentary govt; assembly session, Apr, 1972.

- Constituent Committee; completed its work Apr 1973; new Constitution, Aug 1973.

Features

- Parliamentary form of govt; PM executive head, president figure head, both for 5 yrs.
- Two houses; NA for 5 yrs, directly elected; Senate by 4 provincial assemblies half members retire every two yrs.
- Four provincial assemblies
- Islamic & general provisions; Islamic committee to advise govt for Islamic laws.

(3) Party Politics

- PPP of ZAB; decisive majority in NA & PA's of Punjab & Sindh
- JUI + NAP alliance in NWFP & alliance in Balochistan
- Apr 72; PPP + JUI / NAP coalition:
 - Free hand to JUI / NAP in return for support to PPP in NA
 - Governors to be appointed with consent of respective PAs (Provincial Assemblies).
- After one year dismissal of govts of NWFP & Baluchistan; military operation against Baloch Chiefs for 5 yrs.
- Dream of provincial autonomy shattered
- 2 more constitutional amendments; ZAB's autocratic rule:
 - Apr 74; restricted press freedom
 - ban on undesirable political parties
- 1975; unusual powers to FSF to suppress opposition; no right of bail, detention on suspect.

(3) ZAB's Reforms

(a) Industrial reforms:- wanted to lower high inflation rate of 25%
Nationalized major industries (sugar, oil, textile, fertilizers etc) with these aims:

- Create funds for other development schemes
- Improve living standards of workers & allow them to make unions
- Reduce disparity of Ayub's reforms
- Control industrial output; channel funds into industrialization
- Increase popularity of PPP in urban areas

Results;

Confidence of private sector was shaken

- Industrial growth slowed down in the early yrs

Reason for Failure:

- Lack of managerial staff; nationalized units given to civil servants as not many professional experts available
- Inefficient bureaucracy couldn't manage huge job of coordinating across the country
- Decline in demand of industrial products due to worldwide economic recession

(2) Agricultural reforms

Why; increased output due to modernization of agriculture; land ceiling could be further lowered; same production on relatively smaller holdings

- Farmers & tenants; main voters for PPP

Details:

New land ceiling; 500 & 250 acres for unirrigated & irrigated holdings; Surplus land to be sold to farmers

- Tenant cultivators to purchase land if the owner decided to sell; no eviction of tenants without a genuine reason.

Results:

- Several landowners members of NA; anticipated such measures; large scale transfer of land to relatives/trusted tenants.
- Many got land leased back (on paper) by exploiting a weak legal system
- Large scale eviction of tenants
- Tenants unable to challenge the owners due to their strong social position & influence on revenue departments & courts.

(3) Social Reforms

(a) **Education;** why; to improve a poor literacy rate of 25%

- To develop each person's personality, confidence, socio-economic status & skills
- To ensure uniform education, modernize curriculum & eradicate ignorance.

Details

- Nationalized most of pvt sector schools
- Introduced uniform syllabus in all institutes
- New schools, free & compulsory primary education

Reasons for failure

Initial yrs; serious difficulties due to a no. of factors:

- Only 13% of education budget for primary education
- Opposition to formal education by rural masses; fear of loss of earning due to schooling of working child
- Overcrowding in many schools; drop in standards of education
- Insufficient administrative staff to run the nationalized institutes
- Education is a slow process; takes lot of time; 1% improvement in literacy even after 5 yrs.

B.Health & Family Planning

Why; to provide better health care to all; to control population growth

Details

- RHC's (Rural Health Centers) and BHU's (Basic Health Units) in rural areas
- Compulsory service in rural areas for the fresh doctors
- New hospitals & medical colleges
- Brand names of drugs were banned to reduce cost of medicines
- Started a new family planning and vaccination program

Results

- Improved medical care of Pakistanis
- Shortage of doctors & nurses remained a problem
- Reduced income of multinational pharmaceuticals who closed down their business

(4) Administrative Reforms

- Considered civil services corrupt, inefficient & full of unnecessary rules
- Restructured civil services into a no. of smaller levels & unified by salary scales
- Direct recruitment method; capable people could join at any level
- Was criticized on this method; accused of favoritism neglecting merit.

1977 elections & fall of ZAB

- Announced general elections, 1977
- 9 political parties; PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) determined to remove ZAB
- PNA promised Islamic rule in Pak
- Sweeping victory of PPP; PNA rejected results
- Accused of rigging (done in only some areas); countrywide anti-ZAB campaign
- Brutal force by ZAB to suppress PNA, but the campaign got stronger
- Martial law, curfew in Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore
- Military closely observed as ZAB began to accept some demands of PNA; ban on drinking, Friday holiday etc.
- 'Operation Fairplay' by General Zia Ul Haq, 5 July 1977; constitution suspended, ZAB & other leaders were taken under military custody, shifted to Murree; 3rd martial law on Pak.

Reason for downfall of ZAB

- Opposition by industrialists & businessmen to nationalization program
- Middle class opposed educational reforms; decline in standard in nationalized institutes

Religious parties opposed the socialist / communist style of ZAB; use of FSF, military operation in Baluchistan, strictness towards old supporters and loss of loyal workers

Execution of ZAB

- ZAB shifted to Murree, released after some time
- Zia's promise of elections; ZAB began to attract huge rallies, challenged Zia's steps
- Zia decided to restrict ZAB; reopened an old murder case against ZAB murder of Nawab Muhammad Khan, father of Ahmed Raza Kasuri, ZAB's opponent.
- Arrest of ZAB 3 Sept 1977.
- Death sentence by Lahore High Court, 18 March 1978.
- Supreme Court upheld sentence.
- 4 April 1979; ZAB hanged, Rawalpindi

Q: Describe the terms of the 1973 Constitution. (4)

Ans. It was implemented on 14th August 1973 by Z.A. Bhutto. Under it Pakistan became the Islamic Republic of Pakistan with a federal and parliamentary form of government. Prime Minister became the executive head whose advice was binding on the President. PM and President had to be Muslims. The bicameral parliament had Senate as the Upper, and National Assembly as the Lower House. Senate had equal number of seats from all provinces and could not be dissolved. National Assembly had seats from all provinces according to their population. Fundamental human rights were to be enforced by the Supreme and High Courts, and the armed forces were to stay away from politics.

Q: What is a BHU (Basic Health Unit) and an RHC (Rural Health Centre)? (4)

Ans. They were introduced as part of Bhutto's health reforms to provide health care on a large scale. One BHU was set up for every 20,000 people and One RHC for every 60,000 people. A BHU had a doctor with a few paramedics whereas an RHC was a larger unit having a doctor, an LHV (Lady Health Visitor) and some other paramedics. It also had facilities for some surgical procedures. These became a source of providing employment to the medical graduates as Bhutto had set up many new medical colleges.

Q: What was the Simla Agreement? (4)

Ans. Z. A. Bhutto visited India and signed a peace treaty with the Indian PM Mrs. Indira Gandhi on 2nd July 1972, at Simla. India agreed to return 90,000 POWs (Prisoners of War) of the 1971 war. In return, Pakistan promised to discuss the Kashmir issue with India directly and not raising it on any international forum such as the United Nations, though Z. A. Bhutto did not give up the claim for Kashmir. The agreement improved Z. A. Bhutto's popularity in Pakistan.

Q: Describe the OIC. [4]

Ans.

After a failed attempt of burning the al-Aqsa Mosque, the Muslim states formed the OIC/ Organization of Islamic Countries, in 1969. Its first summit was held in Rabat, Morocco, that was attended by 24 heads of Muslim states. In the 2nd summit held in Lahore, in Feb. 1974, 35 heads states participated including the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. This showed the importance of Pakistan in the Muslim world. It was renamed OIC / Organization of Islamic Cooperation in 2011.

Q: What was the FSF/Federal Security Force? (4)

Ans.

Z.A. Bhutto wanted to limit the powers of the army as it had become unpopular after its defeat in the 1971 war. He set up a paramilitary force in October 1972 under his direct command. Ostensibly, its task was to assist the civil administration and the police in the maintenance law and order without requiring the intervention of the military. However, Bhutto's critics called it a private army whose real duty was to curtail any opposition against him. The FSF was misused to crush or punish Bhutto's rivals even though they had been loyal to him previously. It was dissolved by General Zia in 1977.

Q: What was the nationalization policy of Z.A. Bhutto? (4)

Ans. Under the Economic Reform Order of January 1972, Bhutto nationalized 70 major industrial units taking them from their owners and placing them under the Federal Ministry of Production. In March 1972, life insurance companies were nationalized, and privately owned banks were nationalized in 1974. Though Bhutto hoped to improve the economic growth, allegations were made for mismanagement of the nationalized industries. Eventually, there was some success as inflation fell from 25% in 1972 to 6% in 1976.

Q: Describe Z.A. Bhutto's land reforms. (4)

Ans. Z.A. Bhutto introduced the new land reforms in 1972. Under these, the maximum amount of land that anyone could own was set at 250 acres of irrigated land and 500 acres for unirrigated land. Bhutto had promised that the landless would be given/sold land after taking excess land holdings from the big landowners. This way, land would also be available to allow many people to own their farms. However, the powerful landowners undermined his reforms by transferring some of their landholdings to their relatives or the trusted tenants and getting them leased back on long-term leases.

Q: Describe the Security of Tenure scheme. [4]

Ans.

Z.A. Bhutto introduced this scheme as he wanted to grant security of tenure to the tenant cultivators. Under this the tenant farmers had the first right to buy the land they worked

on. The land owners could not sell their lands without the consent of tenants. The powerful land owners, using their political influence and social contacts, foiled it by evicting several tenants.

Q: Explain why Z.A. Bhutto adopted the policy of nationalization of the privately owned industries. (7)

Ans. Bhutto was inspired by socialism. Under the Economic Reform Order of January 1972, he announced nationalization of the private sector industries. He wanted to raise the living standard of the industrial workers who, together with other ordinary people, constituted bulk of his vote bank. Profits from the nationalized companies were to be spent on improving public services such as health and education. He wanted to promote economic growth and bring inflation down from a high level of 25%. By nationalizing industrial units the government could control industrial output and channel the profits and investment into industrialization. This way the popularity of his party, the PPP, was also expected to increase with the urban populace that was an important sector of the party's support. He also wanted to even out the inequalities resulting from Ayub's industrial reforms of the 1960s. These reforms had benefitted only some people, the famous 22 families that had become owner of about 80% of Pakistan's large scale industry. Such a high level of economic disparity had made Ayub Khan unpopular in the late 1960s.

Q: Why did Z.A. Bhutto's industrial reforms fail? (7)

Ans. Many of the nationalized industries were mismanaged. Capable factory owners were often replaced by civil servants with little understanding of commerce and civil services were already notorious for their inefficiency. Moreover, Pakistan's education system was not yet producing sufficiently educated workers to take managerial positions in the industries under the Federal Ministry of Production.

The Federal Ministry had a huge job to do for co-ordinating the nationalization process across the country. It was a time taking process and needed a hurdle free working environment but unfortunately, it was often got bogged down in bureaucratic muddle. The changes took place at a time when the world was going through an economic recession that had lowered the demand of various products of industries. The newly nationalized industries, therefore, could not improve their output in such conditions. Foreign and some well-off Pakistanis, who did not like the socialist policies, shifted their units out of Pakistan and invested elsewhere. Certainly, economic growth had to be slower in such circumstances.

Q: Why were Z.A. Bhutto's educational reforms unsuccessful? (7)

Ans. The nationalized schools could not perform better. Due to nationalization of schools, there was a drop in the standard of education as they were over-burdened and could not cater to the increased number of students without an increase in the trained staff. In many places there was a lack of teaching, teacher training and administrative staff. The government had allocated only 13% of the education budget to primary schools. With such a small amount of funds the desired results could not be achieved.

Improving literacy rate and educational standard is a time taking process. It is not possible to change the curriculum, trained teachers and develop the educational infrastructure in a short time. As a result, there was only 1% increase in literacy even after 5 years.

Most of the rural families were not interested in the formal education or literacy. They usually preferred to make their children work on the farm and thus share the economic burden of the family. They could not afford the loss of earnings even if they were offered free education. Perhaps providing them agricultural education alongwith formal education might have been a better option.

Q Why was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrested and subsequently executed in 1979? (7)

Ans: Z.A. Bhutto had an authoritarian style of governance. The focal point of political power, therefore lay with the party leadership, specially its Chairman Bhutto himself. As his industrial and educational reforms began to lose popularity, Bhutto was sharply criticized. Nationalization of industries led to a decline in economic growth. Similarly, nationalization of private educational institutes resulted in overcrowded classrooms and poor pace of improvement in literacy rate.

The election results of 1977 were rejected by the combined opposition, the PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) on the basis of large scale rigging in elections, though rigging had been reported only in some constituencies. Bhutto miscalculated the opposition and was forced to negotiate with the PNA but it was too late. The Army took it Bhutto's weakness, and the military chief General Zia ul Haq toppled his government on 5th July, 1977 and thus 3rd Martial Law was imposed on Pakistan. Bhutto and opposition leaders were arrested.

Zia announced holding of elections in 90 days and allowed political activity. Bhutto, having a strong "personality charisma", began to attract huge rallies. He threatened to frame Zia in a case of high treason once he was re-elected as PM. Zia was alarmed and postponed the elections. An old murder case against Bhutto was reopened: murder of Nawab Muhammad Khan, father of Ahmad Raza Kasuri who was a PPP leader but had developed differences with Bhutto. The Lahore High Court and then the Supreme Court of Pakistan awarded death sentence to Bhutto. He refused to extend a mercy petition before the President Zia and was hanged till death in the Rawalpindi jail on 4th April, 1979.

Q: Constitutional reforms were the most important of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's domestic policies between 1971 and 1977'. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans: Z.A Bhutto's constitutional reforms were very successful. He assumed power amidst very critical circumstances. East Pakistan had become Bangladesh and there was no constitution since March 1969. Z.A Bhutto headed the last Constituent Assembly that comprised members elected in the 1970 elections. It began the tasking of framing a new constitution. The new constitution was implemented on 14th August, 1973. It introduced pure parliamentary form of government with the P.M the executive head while the President only a figure head of state. A bicameral parliament was introduced. The National Assembly, (the lower house), had members in proportion to the population of each province. The Senate, (upper house), had equal number of seats from each province, giving protection to the smaller provinces. Senators were academics, professionals and technocrats.

The Constitution was criticized by the opposition because the focal point of political power lay with the party leadership (Bhutto remained chairman of PPP till the end of his rule). Bhutto became autocratic and authoritarian with time, and when political matters worsened, all blame was put on him.

His other domestic reforms were also important. In order to improve literacy and ensure a uniform standard of education, most of the private sector schools were nationalized. Primary education was made free and compulsory. New Schools were opened and the old ones were upgraded. These policies had little success due to lack of funds, trained teachers and school buildings. Parents in rural areas opposed formal education as it did not guarantee jobs for their children. Also , the funds allocated for primary education were only 13% of the total budget for education.

To provide health care to all, and to improve life expectancy and infant mortality rate (IMR) several BHU's (Basic Health Units) and RHU's (Rural Health Centres) were set

up. New medical colleges and hospitals were set up. Under the new drug policy, brand names of drugs were abolished, so that medicines were available at cheaper prices. This, however, resulted in declining earning of chemists and many pharmaceutical companies closed their business in Pakistan.

Bhutto was inspired by communism and socialism with an aim of ensuring control of the government on sources of production and to improve the standard of living of industrial workers. Most of the large scale industries were nationalized, only cotton textile sector was spared. To finance these industrial units, five commercial banks were also nationalized. Industrial growth slowed down as the nationalized units were given to civil servants who were not trained for the job. However, many industries survived at the time of world-wide economic crises when many industrialists were about to close down their units.

Bhutto had a strong vote bank of industrial workers and farmers. Since Ayub's Green Revolution had increased the land productivity but had also caused huge disparity between rich and poor farmers, Bhutto lowered the land ceiling to 500 acres of un-irrigated and 250 acres irrigated land holdings, it was further reduced to 300 and 150 acres respectively. Through the Tenant Safety Act he provided protection to tenant cultivators who couldn't be evicted without a valid reason. These measures increased his popularity but their success rate was poor due to the strong social position of the rich land owners (zamindars) many of whom were, ironically, members of the Parliament.

It can be proved that Bhutto was most successful in his constitutional reforms because the 1973 Constitution continues to survive till today, despite being suspended by two military rulers in 1977 and 1999. This shows the inherent strength of the Constitution and the ability of Bhutto to give a lasting constitution to the people of Pakistan.

Q. How successful was Z.A. Bhutto in his foreign policy in the 1970s?
[10]

Ans.

Bhutto improved relations mainly with the USSR, China and the Muslim world. So, he failed to have friendly relations with the West. Bhutto paid two visits to Washington to keep cordial relations with the USA. However, the US were unhappy over his friendly relations with the USSR and China. Therefore, there was no significant progress in Pakistan's relations with the US, UK and the Commonwealth. Bhutto left both the Commonwealth and SEATO when Great Britain recognized Bangladesh in 1971 as it reflected the British neutrality in favour of India. After the 1971 war, Bhutto visited Moscow in 1972 and accepted the soviet offer of building a steel mill in Pakistan. Accordingly, the PSM (Pakistan Steel Mill) was established with the Soviet aid in the 1970s. Pak-Soviet relations remained stronger till the downfall of Bhutto in July 1977.

China had remained neutral in the 1971 Indo-Pak war. After the war China again began to support Pakistan openly. Bhutto visited China in February 1972. China agreed to convert all previous loans into grants, and supplied military aircrafts and tanks. Pakistan's second iron industry, HMC (Heavy Mechanical Complex), Taxila was set up with the Chinese assistance.

Bhutto convened the second summit of the OIC in Lahore in February 1974 in which Pakistan recognized Bangladesh as an independent republic. Bhutto signed several agreements with the rich Muslim states of the Middle East. Within two years Pakistan was receiving heavy aid from many Muslim countries. Iran gave loans of 730 million dollars, the UAE 100 million dollars and Lybia 80 million dollars. Bhutto offered friendly relations to the Afghan President. In 1976, Bhutto and the Afghan President Sardar Daud exchanged many visits in which the Shah of Iran played a key role. Attempts were made to sign the APTTA (Afghan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement) to help Afghanistan avail Pakistan's port. However, Afghanistan's rigidity over the Pakhtoonistan issue and refusing to accept the Durand Line as an international Pak-Afghan border halted all efforts to improve bilateral relations. The RCD remained a very effective bloc during Bhutto's regime.

Bhutto visited India in July 1972 and signed the Simla Agreement with the Indian PM Mrs Indira Gandhi. India agreed to release about 90,000 Pakistani POWs (Prisoners of War) that had been in its custody since December 1970. Both Prime Ministers agreed to resolve all mutual disputes without involvement of a third party (e.g. the UN). India, however, tested its first nuclear weapons in Rajasthan desert in 1974. Feeling insecure, Bhutto retaliated by

declaring that Pakistan would also develop nuclear technology. This adversely affected the Pak-India relations.

Z.A. Bhutto was perhaps quite successful in his foreign policy as Pakistan built first ever two large scale iron and steel industries in its history. Moreover, Pakistan was recongnized as a very important Muslim state in the world.

Sample Question

Source A,

Part of a speech of Z.A. Bhutto in the UN Security Council, on 15 December 1971

"The time has come when, as far as Pakistan is concerned, we shall have to speak the truth whether members of the Security Council like it or not. We were hoping that the Security Council, mindful of its responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and justice, would act according to principles and bring an end to a naked, brutal aggression against my people. I came here for this reason."

Q(a) Describe Bhutto's feelings and views presented in his speech. (3)

Ans. Bhutto is highlighting the grave tragedy resulting from the Pak-India war of 1971. He is addressing the session in a bold way by referring to the five permanent members of the UNSC. He is reminding the UN Security Council of its responsibilities that it had failed to observe in the 1971 crisis. This failure had led to several tragedies that necessitated his visit to the Security Council.

Source B, a photograph of Bhutto addressing a public rally,



Q. (b): According to source B what do we learn about Z.A. Bhutto? [5]

Ans.

The source shows Bhutto's commanding, charismatic and popular personality. The huge number of his audience proves that he is extremely popular among the masses. He carries a cheered up look as he seems to have received a strongly positive response from his people. He is clad in a simple safari suit instead of any expensive clothing that conveys the message to the people that their leader is from among them. Bhutto's way of addressing his audience made him a great crowd puller and a successful statesman. Despite his controversial role in the separation of East Pakistan, Bhutto would remain the most popular leader during his regime.

Source A: part of information mentioned in the website:

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simla_Agreement

"Both countries will settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations. India has, many a times, maintained that Kashmir dispute is a bilateral issue. According to Simla agreement, it had denied any third party intervention even that of United

Nations. The agreement converted the ceasefire line of 17th December 1971 into the Line of Control between India and Pakistan.”

Q.1 (a) What does source A tell us about the Simla agreement?
[3]

Ans.

Pakistan and India agreed to settle mutual disputes through bilateral dialogue only. India had been asserting that there should be no third party intervention including the UNO. The agreement also converted the international boundary between East Pakistan and India into the LOC after the end of the war between the two states.



Source B, a photograph of Z.A. Bhutto's visit to India in July 1972.

Q. According to Source B what do we learn about Bhutto's visit?
[5]

Ans.

The source shows a cordial interaction between the two PMs. Both carry a cheered-up look that suggests their agreement on reducing hostility between Pakistan and India. Bhutto is wearing a winter clothing though it's a summer month. This is due to the highland climate of the hill station, Simla. Smile on Indira Gandhi's face implies she has scored more

points on the dialogue table. Soon, however, bilateral relations would be damaged after Indian nuclear blast in Pokhran in 1974.

Source A: part of an article by Henry Tanner published in the New York Times.

“Pakistan’s Foreign Minister, Z.A. Bhutto, his face streaked with tears walked out of the Security Council today after accusing it of ‘legalizing aggression’. Outside the chamber he said, ‘I hate this body. I don’t want to see their faces again. I would rather go back to a destroyed Pakistan.’ Then, followed by seven grim-faced members of his delegation, Mr Bhutto strode down the carpeted main hall.”

Source A: part of Zia’s statement written by Sheikh Aziz on 15th June 2014,

“Bhutto’s release on bail sent Gen. Zia into shock: he, of course, wanted the deposed Prime Minister to be kept in jail at any cost. The bail had been granted by the Lahore High Court’s Justice Khawaja Muhammad Ahmad Samdani. When Bhutto’s bail plea was presented before him, he granted it on the grounds that, ‘the case did not hold any legal ground.’”

Q.1(a) According to the author describe the scenario of Mr Bhutto’s release on bail. [3]

Ans.

Gen. Zia was shocked on the release of Mr Bhutto on bail, granted by the Lahore High Court. He wanted Bhutto remain in prison at any cost. Justice Samdani, on the other hand, declared the case against Mr Bhutto very weak.



Source B , a photograph of Bhutto receiving Gen Zia in November 1976.

Q.(b) With reference to the photograph describe the meeting between Bhutto and Zia.

[5]

Ans.

This seems a very important meeting held in a pleasant environment. Zia carries a broad smile across his face. Gen. Zia, perhaps after being appointed as the Chief of Army Staff by Bhutto recently in March 1976. Bhutto too, looks confident with his upright posture against Zia's demeanour of shaking hand with Bhutto in a rather humble way. Another army officer is saluting Bhutto while there are many civilians around that shows Bhutto's dominance over political affairs. This conveys a message of cordial civil-military relations at that time. Within a year, however, Pakistan would be under military rule as Zia would topple Bhutto's government in July 1977.

General Zia (5th July 1977-17th August 1988)

General Zia Ul Haq 5-July 1977-17Aug 1988

- 1). Immediate Steps** → wanted to get rid of ZA Bhutto (ZAB)
 - ZAB had promoted Zia by superseding senior officers→ difficult decision for Zia to take
 - ZAB still very popular → attracted huge rallies after release in July.
 - An old murder case was reopened against ZAB →murder of Nawab Muhammad Khan, father of Ahmad Raza Kausri, a critic of ZAB.
 - ZAB arrested 3 Sept, 1977 → trial for about 2 yrs → death sentence → ZAB refused to plea for mercy before Zia
 - Executed, 4 Apr 1979, Rawalpindi
- 2). End of military action in Balochistan:**
 - Amnesty for tribal chiefs if they surrendered
 - Some development projects in Balochistan to normalize relations b/w the Central govt & Balochistan.
- 3). Accountability:**
 - Had declared to start process of accountability soon after assuming power
 - Nov 1977 → abolished the FSF
 - Investigation into corruption of ZAB's govt
 - Objective→ to seek public support for a new and honest & Islamic govt.
- 4). Islamisation:**

Why → wanted a strong & stable govt that was possible only under a military ruler in an underdeveloped country like Pakistan

- To undo the image and policies of ZAB and keep PPP out of power → ZAB's image as a pro –socialist person was Zia's target
- Argued that Pak had been created in the name of Islam & so, only Islam suited it.

Benefits gained by Zia

By his Islamisation program

- Islam as counter –ideology against ZAB's socialist views
- Won support of religious parties, esp the Jama'at-i-Islami that was influential in the army & administration
- Dec 1979 → Soviet/Russian attack on Afghanistan → Zia exploited his pro-Islamic, anti-communist regime to seek the western support & heavy aid.

Steps for Islamisation

- 1979 → Federal Shariat Court (FSC) to decide about existing laws being Islamic or not → comprised a chairman, 5 judges and Ulema.
- Hudood and Qazf Ordinance 1977 → Islamic punishments for theft, adultery drinking and& slander/false accusation of adultery against an innocent woman.
- Blasphemy Law → punishment for showing disrespect for the Holy Prophet/ the Quran.
- 1980, the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance → 2.5% wealth tax on bank savings over a certain amount → Zakat committees at various levels to distribute Zakat money among the poor → strong Shi'a protest, 1984→ they were exempted
- 5% tax on agricultural income (Ushr)
- Council of Islamic Ideology to advise the govt to make legal system according Islamic values.
- Dress code for women appearing on TV → to use headscarf → restrictions on women sports & women participation in certain occupations
- Islamiyat & Pak Studies compulsory in schools
- Extra marks for those who had learnt the Quran by heart, in the competitive exams of public service
- Promotion of Arabic by Radio & TV.

Law & Government

- Several laws to restrict judiciary
- Military courts to try offenders according to martial law
- March 1980, PCO (Provisional Constitutional Order) no decision of president to be challenged in any court → protesting judges were removed
- Several military officers in civil services + fixed quota of military in civil services →40% of Pak diplomats abroad were from military in 1982.
- Tried to develop a political base → Majlis-i-Shoora (Islamic Parliament) to advise Zia about Islamic law → an advisory body, no legislative power
- 1984, referendum on the pretext of continuing Islamic reforms as president for another 5 yrs.
- Poor turn out → 10% due to boycott of the combined opposition, MRD (Movement of Restoration of Democracy) → referendum proved a failure → he was no more popular.
- 1985 elections → non-party basis
- MRD protested, tried to keep people away form elections but Zia was firm
- Before elections, many amendments in the constitution to legalise all his steps & strengthen his authority.
- Elections, March 1985 → 52% turn out →big landlords & tribal chiefs were elected despite the boycott by the MRD
- A loyal & obedient assembly
- Muhammad Khan Junejo, new PM, to gradually form a political party loyal to Zia
- Dec 1985 → martial law lifted, constitution restored, with fundamental amendments

The Afghanistan miracle & economy of Pakistan

- Dec 1979 → Soviet attack on Afghanistan
- Pakistan, the only US ally in the region for anti-Soviet activities of the USA
- Heavy economic and military aid to Pak by the west, esp the USA.
- Heavy aid to accommodate Afghan refugees & to strengthen Pak army.
- Huge defence budget → Pak became a major supplier of military force to the Muslim world
- Western aid + remittances by over 2 million overseas Pakistanis → many economic reforms e.g. denationalization of the nationalized industries & ban on further nationalization
- High annual GNP (Gross National Produce) growth rate of 6.23%
- With such high growth rate, high inflation b/w 1977 & 1986
- Improved standard of living but start of electric power crisis-loadshedding.

Problems for Zia

- Second half of 1980's → problems due to easy availability of money & weapons & the Afghan refugees.
- Violence, drug addition smuggling, weapon smuggling, sectarian violence, esp sunni-shia in Punjab & linguistic violence in Sindh → rise of the MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Movement)
- Karachi → centre of violence
- Provincial differences → Punjab, loyal to central govt with rise of Nawaz Sharif
- Sindh, NWFP & Balochistan turning against Zia, esp over the issue of the Kalabagh dam.
- Change in the world politics → Geneva Accord , 1988 → USA to stop supporting the Afghan Mujahideen
- (Who would soon be called miscreants) in return for the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan → no need to continue aid to Pak
- Junejo & his ML (Muslim League) decided to exploit this change in order to strengthen the civil political power.
- Apr 1988 → Ojhri Camp disaster → an ammunition dump in Rawalpindi was mysteriously blown up → hundreds were killed
- Junejo's decision to conduct open inquiry, involving military officers
- 29 May, 1988 → Zia, using powers under the 8th amendment, dismissed Junejo's govt & assemblies
- Promised elections in 90 days
- 17 Aug 1988 → Zia, together with several senior officers & the US ambassador, was killed in an air crash, Bahawalpur.

Q. What was the 8th Constitutional Amendment? [4]

Ans.

Zia had suspended the 1973 constitution after his martial law in 1977. In February 1985, elections were held, on 30th December 1985 martial law was lifted and the constitution was restored with the 8th amendment, article 58-2 (b). It empowered the President to appoint the PM and the provincial governors as well as dismiss the PM and the National Assembly. All previous laws of the martial law were also validated. Zia dismissed Junejo's government using the same powers. It was finally revoked by the Sharif government in 1997 under the 13th amendment.

Q. What was the Ojhri Camp Disaster? [4]

Ans.

On 10th April 1988, an army weapons dump at Ojhri Camp, Rawalpindi blew up mysteriously. It caused hundreds of deaths of the civilians with thousands more injured as the dump was located in a densely populated area between Rawalpindi and Islamabad. PM Junejo announced an immediate transparent inquiry into the explosion and promised the nation that he would bring the responsible people before the justice even if it meant the dismissal of senior military officers. Zia and army could not afford such an inquiry. Therefore, on 29th May 1988, using his powers under the 8th constitutional amendment, Zia dismissed Junejo's government and dissolved the National Assembly.

Q. What were the Hudood Ordinances? [4]

Ans.

They were a part of Zia's Islamisation programme, implemented 1977 onwards. They included Islamic punishments for the Offences against Property (theft), Zina (adultery), Qazf (false accusation of Zina) and Prohibition (of drinking) Ordinances. Punishment for theft was amputation of right hand, and that for drinking alcohol was 80 stripes of the cane. Such laws helped Zia establish and prolong his rule for many years.

Describe the Zakat Ordinance. [4]

Ans.

Its full name was the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance and it was promulgated in June 1980. It was a part of Zia's Islamisation programme. Under this a deduction of 2.5% of the total savings on a certain amount in the banks was made on the first of every Ramadan. This Zakat money was given to the Zakat committees of various levels in cities and villages for distribution among the poor. The Shi'a Muslim community protested against it, as according to their belief, payment of Zakat was a voluntary ritual. In order to pressurize the government, several demonstrations were held in Islamabad in 1984. Zia was forced to exempt them from paying Zakat. They were required to submit a declaration of being a follower of the Fiqh-i-Jafria with the concerned bank.

Q. What was the Afghan Miracle? [4]

Ans.

The USSR/Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979. This made Pakistan a vital ally of the US, and Zia a leader of a Muslim state on the frontline against the Soviet communist forces. The US and the Western Europe extended huge financial and military aid to Pakistan. Military aid was given to help the Afghan Mujahideen whereas the purpose of the economic aid was to enable Pakistan to accommodate millions of Afghan refugees. Zia was able to use some of these funds for the economic growth of Pakistan by starting several

development projects. This way the Soviet attack on Afghanistan became a miracle for Zia's military rule.

Q: What is the Karakoram Highway?

[4]

Ans.

Pakistan and China started a joint project in 1966 to construct an 800 mile highway connecting Pakistan with China. The project was completed in 1978 by following the old Silk Road route in China. It was financed by China and built mainly by its engineers. It passes through the dangerous highlands of Gilgit Baltistan and enters China through the Khunjerab Pass. Several thousand workers were killed during the construction. It is known as the Friendship Highway in China.

2: Who were the Afghan Mujahideen?
[4]

Ans:

Mujahideen, in Islamic Shariah, are those people who voluntarily get engaged in Jihad (holy war). This term became popular in the 1980's when the Afghan freedom fighters fought against the Soviet/Russian army in Afghanistan. With the help of the ISI (Inter Services Intelligence) of Pakistan and the US aid, these Mujahideen played key role in driving the Soviet army out of Afghanistan. Benazir Bhutto and later Nawaz Sharif too, supported these Mujahideen who would later be called the Taliban. She even titled herself as the "mother of the Taliban" whose children had gone astray. The Taliban, however, would later become a reason of the disturbed Pak-US relations. Freedom fighters in the Indian occupied Kashmir are also called the Mujahideen who formed such bodies as the JKLF (Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front).

Q. Why did Zia introduce his package of Islamic laws between 1979 and 1988?
(7)

Ans.

He wanted to justify his rule. Since he had toppled the elected government of Z.A. Bhutto, he had to ensure a strong and stable government managed by people committed to Islamic teachings. He enforced a strict Islamic legal code named the Hudood and Qazaf Ordinance, so that the people of Pakistan would not object to his ignoring of the political process. This way he could undo the image of Bhutto and prove that his government was un-Islamic.

He planned to prove that Pakistan had been created in the name of Islam, and therefore, people should live according to the Islamic teachings. So, he introduced Islamic education like compulsory teaching of Islamiyat in schools and colleges. In order to make sure that people showed due respect to the Holy Prophet, he enforced the Blasphemy Law under which strict punishments were given to those showing disrespect to the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet.

He wanted to make Pakistan a truly Islamic welfare state where needs of the poor and the unsupported were satisfied by the government according to the financial teachings of Islam. In order to achieve this, he promulgated the Zakat and 'Ushr Ordinance under which Zakat was deducted from the public savings deposited in the banks, in addition to being collected by the Zakat Committees.

Q. Why did Zia find it difficult to rule Pakistan in the late 1980s/What difficulties did Zia find in ruling Pakistan during the late 1980s?
(7)

Ans.

There was a serious breakdown of law and order during the late 1980s. Sindh, with Karachi as the largest city of Pakistan, became a victim of violence, sectarian riots, kidnap for ransom and drug trafficking. Arrival of the Afghan refugees facilitated the availability of weapons and drugs like heroin. The MQM (Muhajir/now Muttahida Qaumi Movement) emerged as a popular party in urban areas of Sindh. It represented the Urdu speaking migrants from India and it went into a clash with the Sindhi speaking population. There were several incidents of communal violence in Karachi and Hyderabad.

Zia's strict Islamic reforms resulted in sectarian differences leading to armed clashes between the Sunni and the Shi'a community of Pakistan. Extremist religious organizations

got weapons to fight against the rival groups. Jhang, a city in Punjab, began to breed many extremist organizations. The NWFP (now KPK) had also developed differences with the central government of Zia over his plans of building the Kalabagh Dam.

In April 1988, the explosion at the Ojhri Camp in Rawalpindi caused deaths of several innocent people, and the PM Mr. Junejo announced to conduct a transparent inquiry of the tragedy. This created a serious difficulty for Zia as he feared inclusion of top military officers in the inquiry. He could not afford the loss of military support, and therefore, dismissed Junjo's government in May 1988. This worsened the political crisis for Zia.

Q: Economic reforms were the most important of Zia ul Haq's domestic policies between 1977 and 1988. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Ans.

Zia ensured a strict and stable regime. In order to win the confidence of the investors, he renounced Bhutto's policy of nationalisation. Industrial units were returned to their owners. The industrial growth began to improve. Moreover, millions of overseas Pakistanis began to send heavy remittances that were spent on several development schemes. From the Middle East alone \$ 4billion were sent every year by the Pakistani workers. Also, Pakistan became the greatest beneficiary of the 'Afghan Miracle'. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, Pakistan became the frontline state to counter the Soviets in Afghanistan. It received heavy US aid for many years. Pakistan was given soft term loans and aid of \$ 1.6 billion, £ 1.5 billion and then \$ 4.2 billion military and economic aid between 1980 and 1986. Pakistan's GNP (Gross National Product) was 6.2% in three years.

This impressive economic growth rate, however, was accompanied by inflation, an increased power consumption and loss of skilled workers to other countries. Since no new power plants were set up, Pakistanis had to experience load shedding. Easy availability of drugs and weapons led to drug addiction and violence in the country.

Zia also introduced Islamic reforms as he wanted a strong and stable government and undo the image of Z.A. Bhutto. He also wanted to endorse the popular belief that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam. Accordingly, he enforced a series of Hudood Ordinances in 1977. Under these, Islamic punishment were prescribed for major offences such as Zina/adultery (100 stripes), theft (cutting off the right hand), drinking (80 stripes) and Qazf/false accusation of adultery (80 stripes). Under the Blasphemy Law a punishment of imprisonment or fine or death sentence was prescribed for those found guilty of showing disrespect to the Holy Prophet (PBUH). Under the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance of June 1980, a wealth tax of 2.5% was levied on the bank savings. On the protest of the Shi'a community, they were exempted from this tax. Ushr Ordinance imposed 5% tax on agricultural income but it had little success. The Zakat money was distributed among the poor.

Programs on Radio and TV were started to promote Arabic language, and teaching of Islamiyat and Pak Studies was made compulsory. Extra marks were given to the memorisers of the Quran in the Civil Services. Interest-based banking was replaced with the profit – loss sharing banking. The Council of Islamic Ideology was created to advise the government to make laws according to Islam. Also, the Federal Shari'at Court was created to examine the existing laws and Islamic theme. The Laws were strongly resisted by the women activist groups and minorities as both felt insecure under these Laws.

Zia had to legitimise his stay in power and overcome the opposition, led mainly by the PPP. He had suspended the 1973 constitution, and through the PCO (Provisional Constitutional Ordinance) he restrained all the Courts from challenging any of the decisions of the military rule. He appointed several military officers in civil services. In 1984 he held a referendum asking people if they wanted Islamisation in Pakistan or not. With a poor participation of 10% he got elected as the President for five years. In 1985, elections were held on non-party basis, and a very obedient parliament was elected. PML led leaders were appointed as Chief Minister (Nawaz Sharif) and Prime Minister (Muhammad Khan Junejo). Zia restored the Constitution with the 8th amendment (article 58-2(b) that empowered him to dismiss the elected government and dissolve the assemblies. Thus his position was strengthened till his death.

It may be concluded that Zia's economic reforms were the most successful of his domestic policies as they brought about prosperity on a large scale and so, common man had no concern about a military ruler who had toppled a civilian govt.

Alternative Judgement

His Islamisation was more successful than any of his other reforms because he was able to convince the people that enforcement of Sharia' was much more important than democracy or civilian governments.

Q: How successful was General Zia in his foreign policy? [10 / 14]

Ans.

Zia was more inclined towards the West, though the US showed little interest in Zia's policies. In November 1979, the US embassy in Islamabad was burned down. The US blamed Zia for encouraging the angry mob. Soon, however, the situation changed in favour of Zia. The Soviets/Russians invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, and Pakistan suddenly became important for the US due to its strategic location. Pakistan received heavy US military and economic aid to support the Afghan Mujahideen and to accommodate millions of Afghan refugees. In 1981, the US President Regan gave Pakistan a package of 1.6 billion dollars for 5 years. Then a loan of 1.5 billion pounds was to help Pakistan buy modern US weapons. In 1986, another 4.2 billion dollars were given to Pakistan. After 1986, there were signs of the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan. Therefore, the US changed its behaviour towards Pakistan. After the Geneva Accord in 1988, the US and the USSR agreed on peace in Afghanistan. The Soviet troops were scheduled to leave Afghanistan, and Pakistan suddenly lost its strategic importance. The US had ignored Pakistan's nuclear programme during the Afghan war, but in the late 1980s the Presslar Amendment of 1985 would gradually be applied on Pakistan. Under this, a country could receive the US aid only after the American President declared that country as non-nuclear. Pak-USSR relations were not successful in the 1980s due to Pakistan's support of the Afghan Mujahideen with the help of the US. In 1984, Zia visited Moscow to attend the funeral rites of the Soviet President Andropov, but was not accorded a warm welcome. The Soviet war planes dropped bombs on various Pakistani territories towards the end of 1984. One of these raids resulted in 140 deaths of Pakistani civilians. Hostile relations continued till the signing of the Geneva Accord in 1988.

Pak-China relations generally remained friendly during Zia's regime. In 1978, the Karakoram Highway (KKH) was completed with the Chinese aid. Zia visited China in 1986, and a nuclear technology treaty was signed between the two countries.

Zia was able to maintain friendly relations with the UK and the Commonwealth. British PM Mrs Margaret Thatcher was the first Western leader to visit Pakistan during the start of the Afghan War. Britain gave a huge aid of 30 million pounds to Pakistan for the welfare of the Afghan refugees. Soon another 16 million pounds were given for the refugees. By 1986, the amount of bilateral trade with Britain was around 376 million pounds. The only failure was that Pakistan remained outside the Commonwealth during Zia's rule.

Relations with India were less successful. In the early 1980s, the Khalistan issue and the Siachin glacier conflict adversely affected the relations. The Sikh separatists wanted an

independent state, Khalistan and India accused Pakistan of supporting the Indian Sikhs. The Indian PM Mrs Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguard in October 1984. Mr Rajiv Gandhi, her son and the new PM, again accused Pakistan's involvement in it though Zia had declared a day of national mourning.

Zia was received in a cold way when he attended the cremation ceremony of Mrs Indira Gandhi. By 1987, the Indian army began military exercises in the Rajasthan desert to intimidate Pakistan. Zia, however, paid a surprise visit to India on the pretext of watching a cricket ODI between the two countries. During his visit, he successfully persuaded the Indian leadership to withdraw its army. The exercises were halted, and this political move of Zia is called the Cricket Diplomacy.

Pakistan's relations with the Muslim states generally remained successful. Pakistan tried to end the Iran-Iraq war through the OIC summit meetings but without any success. Pakistan's relations with Iran were mainly unsuccessful due to sectarian violence in Pakistan. Pakistan extended humanitarian aid to Bangladesh after severe weather calamities in 1985 and 1988. Relations with Afghanistan were also not successful as Pakistan had been helping the Mujahideen against the communist Afghan government that had invited the Soviets. Afghan war planes bombed many areas of KPK in retaliation.

It seems Zia was quite successful in his foreign policy because during his rule the world got rid of the Cold War, and heavy foreign aid helped Pakistan to start many development projects to improve economic growth.

Sample Question for Q1

Source A,

Text of the referendum on 19th December 1984, seeking a validation of Zia's stay in power:

"Whether the people of Pakistan endorse the process initiated by General Zia, the President of Pakistan, to bring the laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet and for the preservation of ideology of Pakistan, for the continuation and consolidation of that process for the smooth transfer of power to the elected representatives."

Q (a) According to source A, how is Zia trying to find ways to become an elected President? (3)

Ans. Zia is seeking the support of the people of Pakistan for the enforcement of Islamic Shari'ah in the country so that its ideology could be safeguarded. He is promising to do the same if people elected him as the President for five years. He is linking his election with the holding of general elections afterwards.

Source B, a photograph, showing Zia greeting Imran Khan, captain of the Pakistan Cricket Team.



Q. (b) What message does the source convey to us? [5]

Ans. The source shows Zia's love for cricket. This seems to be a historic meeting with Mr Imran Khan who is wearing the test cricket dress. The presence of the cricket coach, Mr Intikhab Alam also shows the importance of the occasion. Zia carries his typical smile on his face whereas Mr Khan looks in a formal mood. His way of shaking hand with Zia reflects his confidence as he is extending only one hand, unlike many others who would meet the military dictator in a submissive way by bowing down before him. Zia would be using his famous cricket diplomacy in the 1980s to defuse tension with India.

Source A: part of a speech by the British PM Mrs Thatcher delivered on her visit to Pakistan in Oct. 1981.

"Your Excellency, President Zia-ul-Haq! I thank you most warmly for your hospitality. The crowded and fascinating programme which you arranged for me was some compensation for my all too brief visit to your marvelous country. I wanted to revisit Pakistan, partly because you kindly invited me to do so, and partly because I wished to return the visit which you paid to London about a year ago."

Q.(a): According to source A describe Mrs Thatcher's feeling towards Pakistan.

[3]

Ans.

Mrs Thatcher is expressing her gratitude to Gen. Zia for his hospitality that comprised some fascinating cultural events. She is mindful of her very brief visit to Pakistan. She is declaring her visit as a reciprocation to Zia's visit to London in 1980.

Source B: a photograph of a meeting between Gen. Zia and Nawaz Sharif.



Q. (b): What does source B tell us about the relationship between the two leaders?

[5]

Ans.

The source shows the intimate closeness between Gen. Zia and Mr Sharif. Zia is not wearing his military uniform so that Mr Sharif could feel more comfortable. Moreover, Zia is talking to Mr Sharif in a smiling and candid way that means the meeting is being held in an informal environment. Mr Sharif on the other hand, looks a bit formal. There is no third person around in the meeting, and this means, the importance being accorded to Mr Sharif by Gen. Zia. This is an occasion of improved relations between the military rulers and civilians. In future, Mr Sharif would strengthen his ties with the military establishment, and emerge as a powerful civilian Prime Minister.

Source A: part of an article by Babar Ali published on April 4, 1987,

“Since at least October last year, a great deal of new information has been made public about the military relationship between the US and Pakistan. Most of the information has come into the open thanks to a couple of scholars working on Pakistan while residing in North America. They have had access to information from US sources, many of which are confidential.”

Q.1 (a) What claims are being made by Mr Babar Ali?

[3]

Ans.

Babar Ali is claiming the release of some secret information regarding the military relations between Pakistan and the USA. He declares that he got most of the information from some Pakistani scholars living in North America. He, however, states that the sources of information are confidential.



Source B, a photograph of Zia's visit to USA in December 1982.

Q. Describe the significance of Zia's visit to USA.

[5]

Ans.

This seems a very important occasion as President Zia and President Ronald Reagan carry a serene look. Both are meeting in the White House that reflects the significance of Zia for the USA. Zia looks confident wearing the national dress. Another important state official is standing in front of Reagan perhaps to note down the minutes of the meeting. Zia was invited to Washington in the early phase of the Soviet invasion on Afghanistan that highlights Pakistan's strategic importance for the USA against the Soviet expansionist designs. The USA would keep extending heavy economic and military aid to Pakistan in order to help the Afghan Mujahideen to fight against the Soviet army. Pakistan would play a decisive role in ending the Cold War in fact of the USA.

Benazir Bhutto (1988-1990 and 1993-1996)

- 17 Aug 1988, Zia was killed in an air crash
- According the 1973 constitution, Chairman Senate, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the President.
- As per Zia's schedule, elections were held for national & provincial assemblies
- B.B. emerged as the most popular leader, leading the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) of her late father, Z.A.Bhutto
- Alliance of 9 main opposition parties, IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad) with such parties as : PML (Pakistan Muslim League) patronized by General Zia Ul Haq since 1985, Jama'at-i-Islami (JI) & other religious parties; most important leader, Mian Nawaz Sharif, Chief Minister of Punjab since 1985.

- Split of mandate → PPP got majority in the centre; PML-led IJI won majority in the Punjab; other parties in the NWFP & Balochistan; Urban Sindh → the MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Movement) & rural Sindh → PPP
- Disturbed relations b/w the central govt and the Punjab govt → BB failed to counter the Sharif govt in the Punjab; she tried to destabilise his govt but this increased popularity of N.Sharif.
- She was accused of being too pro-US; she tried to normalize relations with India in the wake of the Kashmiri uprising; also attempted to project Pakistan's liberal image → first Muslim state with a female head of state.
- Problems in Sindh → most PPP leaders unhappy over the PPP-MQM alliance in the Sindh Assembly → growing ethnic violence in Karachi & Hyderabad (two major cities under the MQM) → crack down on MQM → The Pucca Qila Operation in Hyderabad under the military's supervision & massacre of the Urdu-speaking (Muhajirs) community.
- Failure of the PPP govt to control violence & disturbed relations with the Punjab govt → GIK (Ghulam Ishaq Khan), using powers under the article 58(2) (b) dismissed govt of PPP, dissolved assemblies.
- Care taker govt under Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Aug 1990 & elections in 90 days.

Second Term of Benazir Bhutto, 1993-1997

- Elections & return of BB as PM for the second time
- A senior PPP leader, Farooq Khan Laghari, from the southern Punjab, was elected as the new President of Pakistan.
- PPP also managed to install its chief minister, Mian Manzoor Watto, in the vital province, Punjab
- BB, however, inherited domestic & external problems of the Sharif regime → inflation, sectarian & ethnic violence & unemployment.
- Position of BB was further weakened by the reports of her husband, Asif Zardari's involvement in corruption.
- All the claims of putting Pakistan on the track of democracy were diluted by accusations of Asif Zardari's involvement in corruption.
- March 1996 → the al-Jehad case regarding the appointment of judges in the Supreme Court further increased problems for B.B.
- Nov 1996 → President Laghari, using his emergency power dismissed govt of BB on grounds of corruption, misgovernance and failure to resolve economic problems.
- Later, both BB & Zardari were arrested & finally, B.B. left Pakistan with self-imposed exile.

Reasons for the Dismissal of B.B

- i. First term → confrontation with the Punjab govt → escalating tension with the govt of Nawaz Sharif
 - Failure to control violence in Sindh → operation against MQM in Karachi & Sindh.
 - Failure to overcome economic crisis & corruption.
- ii. Second term → involvement of Mr.Zardari in various corruption cases & her failure to prove him innocent
 - Serious differences with MQM → growing unrest, violence and economic problems.
 - Misgovernance, interprovincial differences & continued violence.

Section 3

Q's on 1988-1999

Q: What was the Gulf War?

[4]

Ans: On 2nd August 1990, the Iraqi forces occupied its neighbouring Muslim state of Kuwait claiming to be part of Iraq. Kuwait sought the US intervention who launched an offensive against Iraq, the Operation Desert Storm in January 1991. This operation continued till February 1991. The acting PM Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi sent Pakistani troops to help the US forces in September 1990. Benazir Bhutto, however, refused to continue this policy of backing the US in the Gulf crisis, because several Pakistanis opposed the idea of fighting the Muslim state of Iraq. According to many analysts, this became one of the reasons of the dismissal of her government on 6 August 1990.

Q: What was the Troika?

[4]

Ans: PPP got majority seats in the 1988 elections and Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister. Her powers were, however, restricted as the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had the decisive powers under the 8th constitutional amendment inserted by General Zia. So, she had to accept the decisions made jointly by herself, the President and the Army Chief. This informal arrangement was called the Troika. Under this she had to retain General Zia's Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, perhaps part of an unwritten condition of an agreement with the President who allowed her to form the government. Due to this, she failed to exercise the executive powers of a purely parliamentary form of government. Later governments in the 1990's also had to accept the Troika as they couldn't ignore the role of army in the Pakistani politics.

Q: Describe the problems caused by family feuds that faced the Benazir Bhutto governments.

[4]

Ans. Benazir Bhutto developed differences with her mother Begum Nusrat Bhutto about the top leadership of PPP (Pakistan People's Party). Nusrat Bhutto wanted Benazir's brother Mir Murtaza Bhutto to be the Chairman. Due to Benazir's tactics her mother left politics and her brother went into exile. He founded the Al-Zulfiqar Organization as tool to oppose and criticize Benazir. He also openly criticized Benazir's husband Asif Zardari because of his open involvement in corruption cases. Zardari was notoriously titled as Mr. 10%. Murtaza was arrested on his return to Pakistan on charges of terrorism, and mysteriously killed in 1996.

Q: What was the Pucca Qila massacre?

[4]

Ans. On 27th May 1990, the PPP government of Sindh launched a crackdown against the MQM in Hyderabad. A shoot-on-sight curfew was imposed and a house search operation was conducted by the police. The Muhajir community strongly protested against this. Many Muhajirs had taken shelter in the Pucca Qila (old fort, near the railway station) and the police forced them to come out. A massive police attack resulted in more than 300 deaths including women and children. As violence grew, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Benazir Bhutto's government in August 1990.

Q: What was the Train March, 1994? [4]

Ans. In September 1994, Nawaz Sharif launched a protest campaign against Benazir Bhutto's government by starting his famous train march. He, with his supporters travelled from Karachi to Peshawar and delivered speeches against Benazir Bhutto attracting huge crowds on various stations. Soon the protest became more organised in September-October 1994. Benazir Bhutto responded by arresting several opposition leaders but it only increased her opposition and problems.

Q: What was the “ No-Confidence Motion” against Benazir Bhutto?

[4]

Ans.

Benazir faced a strong opposition by the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad(IJI) led by Nawaz Sharif . Just 11 months after assuming power, she faced a No-Confidence Motion tabled in the National Assembly (NA)by the Opposition in October 1989 . The Opposition was able to muster 107 seats out of a total of 237 seats of the NA. 119 votes were needed to force the PM to resign, and thus, Benazir survived by a narrow margin of 12 votes.

Q: What was the Train March, 1994? [4]

Ans. In September 1994, Nawaz Sharif launched a protest campaign against Benazir Bhutto's government by starting his famous train march. He, with his supporters travelled from Karachi to Peshawar and delivered speeches against Benazir Bhutto attracting huge crowds on various stations. Soon the protest became more organized in September-October 1994. Benazir Bhutto responded by arresting several opposition leaders but it only increased her opposition and problems.

Q: What was Benazir's “Agenda of Change”?

[4]

Ans:

It was the slogan of Benazir Bhutto's election campaign in 1993. After winning the elections, she promised to improve social services. She expressed her concern for women's social welfare and health issues. She promised to establish women's police stations, courts and women's development banks. She also wanted to address the issue of discrimination against women. She, however, could not make any laws as her party did not have the required majority in the Parliament. Moreover, it became difficult to run state affairs smoothly because of her strong rival Nawaz Sharif.

Q: Why Benazir Bhutto was dismissed in 1990? (7)

Ans. Benazir Bhutto was elected as the first female prime minister of Pakistan but she never had a smooth sailing. She had a weak political base in the Centre as the largest province, Punjab was under her strongest rival Mr. Nawaz Sharif who gave her a very tough time mainly as a result of Benazir's own mishandling of Mr. Sharif. She launched a campaign of maligning his image but without any success.

Her government faced charges of corruption and mismanagement of political affairs. There were allegations that loans from IMF were being used by her party supporters including her husband Mr. Asif Zardari and his father Mr. Hakim Zardari. It was believed that both were using the illegally acquired money to flourish their personal business and suppressing opposition.

Situation was no better in her home province, Sindh. Urban Sindh was under the MQM (Muhajir (now Muttahida) Qaumi Movement) and PPP had support in rural Sindh. She soon developed conflict with the MQM as many of her party members blamed her of preferring the MQM people over her party workers. Soon the PPP- MQM coalition ended and a massive crackdown was started against the MQM. Violence and protests spread in major cities of Sindh. Finally, the Pucca Qila massacre of Hyderabad in May 1990 led to the killing of several MQM workers including women and children. This was followed by 300 more deaths in Karachi and other cities. This proved to be the last nail in the coffin of her government as President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed her government on 6th August, 1990 using his constitutional powers under the Article 58-2(b) on the charges of corruption and mismanagement.

Q: Why was Benazir Bhutto removed in 1996? (7)

Ans.

As Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto did not enjoy comfortable times. She was opposed on all sides and by almost all provinces. She developed differences with her mother and brother. She cleverly pushed her mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, aside so that she was no more active in politics. Later the murder of her brother, Murtaza in a police operation in Karachi raised many questions about her legitimacy as PM. She locked her horns with the Supreme Court by refuting the Court's orders to dismiss 20 judges appointed by the government in the infamous "Judges Case" of 1996

Economic performance of her government was also not impressive. Pakistan borrowed heavily from the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and this led to strict financial controls and inflation that were blamed on the government. She desperately tried to improve economic performance of Pakistan but could not gain success mainly due to growing corruption and her policy of favouritism. Her husband, Asif Zardari, had become more notorious because of his alleged involvement in corruption and political kickbacks. He was sarcastically called Mr. 10% as he is reported to have asked for a share of 10% in exchange for approving the project of any person or company.

Very strong opposition came from Punjab where the most powerful politician Mr. Nawaz Sharif launched an aggressive campaign against her. He leveled charges of corruption, mismanagement, inefficiency and flawed methods in handling various affairs. He organized rallies and demonstrations in several cities. Benazir's husband, Mr. Zardari proved to be her Achilles' heel as she faced charges of involvement in various corruption cases, political kickbacks and paybacks. This greatly weakened her position and damaged her image. . Then the dismissal her Chief Minister, Manzur Wattoo came as a great setback for her government as she was sharply criticized for mishandling the matter and losing more popularity in the largest province of Pakistan.

So, President Farooq Leghari using his powers under the article 58-2(b), dismissed her government on 5 November, 1996.

Q: How successful was Benazir Bhutto in ruling Pakistan during 1988-1990 and 1993-1996? (14)

Ans. Benazir Bhutto was elected as the first woman Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1988 and served in office till 1990. She had a mix of successes and failures. She highlighted her image as the first woman PM of the Muslim World both before the people of Pakistan and the West. She ended a ban on the making of trade unions and students' unions in order to win the confidence of industrial workers and students. Also many political prisoners of PPP were released that had been arrested by the Zia's regime. Moreover, she declared a general pardon for many other political prisoners. She also initiated the rural electrification programme. She took some steps exclusively for the welfare of women. First Women's Bank was opened in 1989. She recruited women in police and civil services under a special scheme and appointed for the first time women judges of the High Courts. She tried to make Pakistan a democratic Islamic republic while abandoning the strict Islamic policies of Zia but this was hard to achieve. She couldn't make any legislation in this regard because the opposition dominated the Senate and the largest province Punjab was under her rival Mr. Nawaz Sharif. He was able to table a no confidence motion against Benazir by the end of 1989 in the National Assembly. Though the motion was defeated by just twelve votes, it was a serious blow to her government. Therefore, no new laws were made to improve the status of women despite all her claims mainly because the Hudood Ordinance could not be repealed. She gradually lost support as her government could not fulfill the promises of reducing unemployment, making economic progress and controlling inflation and a high population growth. The drug abuse problem also worsened mainly due to the presence of several Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Benazir faced serious opposition by her party in Sindh. She made a coalition with the MQM, a party of Urdu speaking migrants from India but the PPP stalwarts in Sindh opposed her. The MQM wanted due rights at par with the Sindhi speaking population but this led to growing conflict between MQM and PPP. Violence erupted in Karachi and other cities between September 1988 and May 1990 when the Pucca Qila operation against the MQM in Hyderabad became a reason of dismissal of her government. In foreign affairs, she made some achievements. Pakistan rejoined the Commonwealth in October 1989 as Pakistan had been recognized as a country with a democratically elected government. She paid a successful visit to the USA in June 1989 and the Bush administration promised an aid of over \$400 million. In December 1988, the Indian PM, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi visited Pakistan. It was a big success because for the first time an Indian Prime Minister had visited Pakistan. Both countries signed two agreements in 1989 to promote mutual peace and cooperation. A hotline telephone link was set up between the two countries to be used in times of crisis. The SAARC platform was also used to promote mutual ties. However, the massive Kashmiri uprising since 1989 damaged the efforts of the two PM's. Benazir returned to power in 1993 and formed a coalition govt. with some independent parties. MQM had boycotted the elections and performance of PPP was better in all provinces. With her efforts Farooq Leghari of PPP was elected as the new President. Once again she tried to improve the socio-economic status of women. She planned to establish women's police stations, courts and banks but failed to make any legislation in this regard. So her 'Agenda of Change' did not work.

Nawaz Sharif launched an aggressive campaign against her. He started that train march from Karachi to Peshawar while attracting huge crowds. Benazir arrested several opposition leaders but in vain. She also faced many family feuds regarding her mother Nusrat Bhutto and brother Murtaza Bhutto. Though she sidelined her mother, mysterious killing of Murtaza Bhutto by police in 1996 greatly damaged her reputation. Her husband Mr. Zardari also earned a bad reputation for his wife as he was involved in many corruption cases and misuse of money. She failed to privatize the UBL (United Bank Limited) by selling it to a Saudi-based company. The attempt was halted due to serious doubts about the transitions. In 1995, she took a heavy loan from the IMF but the economic situation worsened. Due to the Kashmir issue military spending increased by 14% in 1995-96. The result was inflation, unemployment, unrest and violence.

She had a confrontation with the Supreme Court by refusing to dismiss 20 judges appointed by the government. Her dismissal of the Punjab CM, Mr. Wattoo also added to her difficulties. Wattoo began to exploit her weak position and start working more independently ignoring the PPP and its allies. This made matters worse for her government as she had opposite expectations from the Chief Minister of the largest province of Pakistan.

It may be concluded that Benazir was not very successful serving twice as PM mainly because she failed to have a two third majority in the parliament. This did not allow her to make new laws or annul some old laws. Also, fierce opposition by Mr. Nawaz Sharif who had started gaining more popularity foiled many of her attempts to enjoy a stable government.

Q: Was her confrontation with Nawaz Sharif the most important reason of Benazir's removal from power in August 1990? Agree or disagree? Explain.

[14]

Ans.

Benazir Bhutto won a marginal majority in the 1988 elections. She was able to form a coalition government in the Centre, but failed to do so in the largest province, Punjab. Mr Sharif emerged as her most powerful rival from the platform of the IJI, a coalition of the PML and various religious parties. She provoked her rival by appointing Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khar, a senior member of the PPP, as the governor of Punjab. The provincial government of Mr Sharif arrested three FIA (Federal Investigation Agency) agents. They were sent by the central/ federal government to investigate the case of tax evasion by a factory, Riaz Bottlers, owned by a minister of the Punjab.

Mr Sharif established the Bank of Punjab in 1989, but Ms Bhutto opposed it. She termed it "treason against the federation", though the 1973 constitution allowed such steps under the autonomy given to the provinces. He gradually organised a "No Confidence" motion in the National Assembly in October 1989. Opposition against Ms Bhutto was so great that 107 members of the Assembly voted against her while 119 were needed to disqualify her as PM. Thus her government survived by a shortage of only 12 votes.

Benazir made an alliance with the MQM under the 'Charter of Peace, Love and Rights' in December 1988. Both parties were diametrically opposed to each other in the political views. Benazir had promised to protect the interest of the Sindhis and stamp out violence. However, she failed in her mission, and there was a large scale violence in many cities of Sindh. On 30 September 1988, militant Sindhis opened fire on a crowd in Hyderabad, causing 250 deaths, mostly Muhajirs/Urdu speaking people

in Sindh. Later, there were more incidents of riots in Karachi. The most tragic event was the Pucca Qila massacre of May 1989. Several workers of the MQM, along with women and children were killed in a shootout by police in a fort in Hyderabad. Newspapers reported that the women held copies of the Quran over their heads as they cried out to the police stop shooting. Demonstrations and strikes were observed at several places in Hyderabad and Karachi. Finally, in August 1989, the MQM ended its alliance with the PPP and sided with Nawaz Sharif. This added to her troubles as her government in the Centre as well as Sindh got weaker

Benazir Bhutto failed to have comfortable relations with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and sometimes she openly clashed with him. A major area of disagreement was over the key appointments in the military and the judiciary. Ishaq Khan considered that he had the right to make such appointments as the 8th constitutional amendment had empowered him to nominate and dismiss the PM and the assemblies. Both had disputes over many such appointments. She faced accusations of corruption, and her husband Mr Zardari was soon arrested on charges of corruption and blackmail. He was jailed for two years while Ms Bhutto defended him by saying that such charges were politically motivated.

Her government became unpopular as it failed to fulfill its promise of economic development and employment. Inflation and unemployment remained high with a high population growth rate. The government also failed in controlling the menace of drug abuse in Pakistan. Due to a lack of majority in the Parliament, Benazir's government could not make any legislation regarding the rights of women and changes in the Islamic laws introduced by General Zia-ul-Haq. Therefore, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan used his power to dismiss her government on 6th August 1990 on the charges of incompetence, corruption and misgovernance of the country.

It may be concluded that her rivalry with Mr Nawaz Sharif was the most important factor in her exit from power in 1990 because she failed to gain support from the largest province of Pakistan while losing popularity in major cities of Sindh, too.

Q: Were family feuds the main reason of Benazir Bhutto's dismissal from power during her second term as PM? Explain fully. [14]

Ans.

Benazir faced many problems after her election as PM for the second time in 1993. Though she performed better in the provincial elections, she had to form a coalition government in the Centre with the help of many independent candidates and parties. A member of the PPP, Mr Farooq Leghari was elected as President, and it was expected that her working with President would go smoothly. Mr Leghari announced in his first speech to revoke the Eighth Amendment, but it could not be done as PPP did not have a majority in the parliament.

Benazir announced her "Agenda of Change", and promised to improve the status of women, particularly their social and health issues. She promised to set up women's police stations, courts and women's development banks, but could not make any laws regarding these.

Though Nawaz Sharif had broken his alliance with the IJI, he was able to offer strong opposition to Benazir. In 1994, he launched a countrywide Train March from Karachi to Peshawar. At various stopovers, he delivered impassioned speeches against her government. He accused her of trying to manipulate the judiciary and making her husband and other relatives too influential in politics. He skilfully mobilised masses in observing strikes in

September and October 1994. Benazir ordered arrest of several opponents but it only increased her difficulties.

Benazir was forced to increase defence expenses by 14% due to growing hostility with India over the Kashmir issue. 1994 to 1996, Indian and Pakistani armies were on the verge of war, and Pakistan failed to defend its case before the UN. Moreover, destructive floods and pest attacks on crops caused a serious decline in agricultural output. All this caused a growing economic crisis, and Benazir's government had to seek aid from the IMF (International Monetary Fund) in 1995. In order to satisfy the IMF, new taxes were levied on the people, and the rupee was devalued by 7%. This caused inflation, and people became more frustrated. The IMF, asked for more taxes and increased tariffs.

In 1996, in order to raise funds for economic development, Benazir tried to privatise the UBL (United Bank Ltd). Though very poor offers were made by various bidders, she allowed its sale to an apparently Saudi-based company. Investigations proved that the buyers were actually some local businessmen closely linked to the PPP. So, the sale of the bank was halted, and Benazir became more unpopular.

A major problem faced by Benazir was her family feuds. Her mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto wanted his son Mir Murtaza Bhutto to be the party chairperson which Benazir opposed. She removed her mother from a leading position. Feeling disappointed, he founded Al-Zulfiqar Organization after his exile. He sharply criticised Benazir for betraying the principles of their father Z.A. Bhutto. He also targeted her husband, Mr Zardari who was involved in various corruption cases, and had earned the meaningful title of Mr 10%.

Murtaza Bhutto was killed in a mysterious police encounter at a walking distance from his residence in Clifton, Karachi. None of the policemen was arrested, and instead, some were promoted. A judicial inquiry found the involvement of the government in this murder.

Benazir also mismanaged the judiciary in the famous "judges case". In March 1996, she refused to dismiss the 20 judges on the order of the Supreme Court. Her attempts to intimidate the Chief Justice of Pakistan greatly damaged her image. She also failed to curtail the authoritarian Chief Minister of the Punjab, Manzoor Watto. He was trying to exploit her weak position, and so, was removed from his post. This, too, brought more problems for Benazir's government.

Benazir desperately accused some army officers with Islamic views wanted to destabilise her government. Some officers were arrested in this regard, and this prepared the ground for the end of her government. Much to her surprise, President Leghari dismissed her government on 5th November 1996 on the charges of misgovernance and corruption. Before this, army had taken control of all key points in Islamabad, and had arrested Asif Zardari.

It seems the family feuds contributed the most to Benazir's ouster from power because they weakened her abilities to concentrate on smooth running of government affairs. She could not restrict her husband's questionable involvement in many important political matters.

Q: To what extent did Benazir Bhutto's privatization policy contribute to the government being replaced in 1996? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans.

Benazir faced many problems after her election as PM for the second time in 1993. She wanted to privatise power, banking and telecommunications in order to improve the economic growth of Pakistan. However, she was criticised for trying to sell these units to powerful politicians and wealthy industrialists. In 1996, with the intention of raising funds for economic development, Benazir tried to privatise the UBL (United Bank Ltd). Though very poor offers were made by various bidders, she allowed its sale to an apparently Saudi-based company. Investigations proved that the buyers were actually some local businessmen closely linked to the PPP. So, the sale of the bank was halted, and Benazir became more unpopular. Moreover, the civil servants created serious difficulties in her privatization plans.

Benazir performed better in the provincial elections, but she had to form a coalition government in the Centre with the help of many independent candidates and parties. A member of the PPP, Mr Farooq Leghari was elected as President, and it was expected that her working with President would go smoothly. Mr Leghari announced in his first speech to revoke the Eighth Amendment, but it could not be done as PPP did not have a majority in the parliament.

Benazir announced her "Agenda of Change", and promised to improve the status of women, particularly their social and health issues. She promised to set up women's police stations, courts and women's development banks, but could not make any laws regarding these because of a lack of majority in the Parliament. Her rival in Punjab, Mr Nawaz Sharif offered strong opposition to Benazir. In 1994, he launched a countrywide Train March from Karachi to Peshawar. At various stopovers, he delivered impassioned speeches against her government. He accused her of trying to manipulate the judiciary and making her husband and other relatives too influential in politics. He skillfully mobilised masses in observing strikes in September and October 1994. Benazir ordered arrest of several opponents but it only increased her difficulties.

Benazir was forced to increase defence expenses by 14% due to growing hostility with India over the Kashmir issue. 1994 to 1996, Indian and Pakistani armies were on the verge of war, and Pakistan failed to defend its case before the UN. At the same time, the US military and economic aid for Pakistan was stopped as Pakistan's significance for the US decreased. Moreover, destructive floods and pest attacks on crops caused a serious decline in agricultural output. All this caused a growing economic crisis, inflation and unemployment. Benazir sought aid from the IMF (International Monetary Fund) in 1995. In order to satisfy the IMF, new taxes were levied on the people, and the rupee was devalued by 7%. This caused inflation, and people became more frustrated. The IMF, asked for more taxes and increased tariffs.

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It may be said that Benazir’s privatization policy was the decisive factor in the dismissal of her government because she did not have a team of competent economists, and the government officials created bottle necks in her plans. They suspected financial embezzlement in such schemes.

Source A: part of analytical essay by Lawrence Ziring about Ms Bhutto’s fall from power in August 1990,

“It was not a happy year for Benazir Bhutto. Although her second child was born in January, there was little opportunity for her to enjoy the new addition to her family. While she lived recuperating in Lady Dufferin Hospital, sixteen opposition parties massed in a huge demonstration in the streets nearby, demanding the resignation of her government and the holding of the elections. Cries of corruption and incompetence punctuated the speeches.”

Q.1 (a) According to source A describe the problems faced by Benazir Bhutto in August 1990.

Ans.

The source tells about the problems created by the opposition parties for Ms Bhutto. The new year began with the birth of her second child, but this could not prove to be a joyful occasion. Close to Lady Dufferin Hospital, the opposition parties had organised a demonstration against her government. They accused her of corruption and demanded resignation from her.



Source B, a photograph taken during Benazir Bhutto's first term as PM

Q. According to source B describe the civil-military relationship in the 1990s.

[5]

Ans.

This seems to be an important meeting. President G.I. Khan is seated between PM MS Bhutto and the army chief General Aslam Baig. This shows the importance of Mr. G.I. Khan in politics who is empowered under the 8th constitutional amendment. General Baig is clad in the army uniform, and this reflects the importance of army in Pakistani politics. All three carry a serious and stern look that means some important matter is under discussion. This formal arrangement was called Troika and it was aimed at striking a balance between the elected government and the armed forces. Troika remained an important part of Pakistani politics till Mr Nawaz Sharif was elected as PM in 1997.

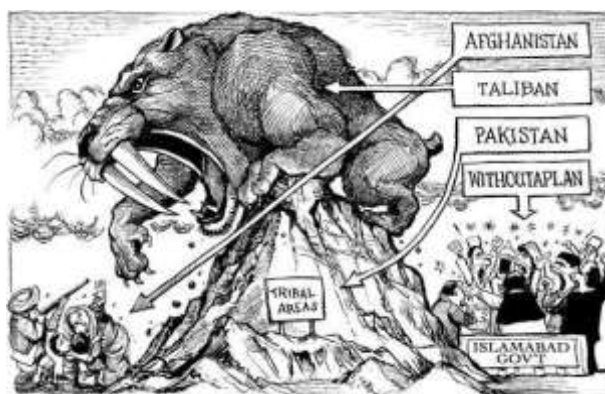
Source A: a part of memoirs penned down by Iqbal Akhund after the 1988 swearing in of Benazir Bhutto as PM:

"Everybody looked happy....a justifiable feeling of pride at the smooth, amicable and mature in which Pakistan had made the transition from dictatorship to democracy a French newspaper wrote, 'Benazir is indeed the woman of the year' but more than that Pakistan itself deserves to be called the nation of the year."

Q(a) According to the source A what do we learn about the political situation of Pakistan in 1988? (3)

Ans. The source portrays Pakistan's successful emergence from a long period of dictatorship. Benazir Bhutto was elected in a democratic and peaceful way. She is being admired for the remarkable achievement she made as a female politician for which the whole Pakistani nation has also been praised.

**Source B,
A cartoon showing the problems created and faced by Benazir Bhutto.**



Q(b) What message is being delivered about the problems faced by Benazir Bhutto's government 1993-1996? [5]

Ans.

The source shows a very complex political situation for Benazir Bhutto. Her government seems to have failed in working out a strategy to deal with the rise of the monster of Taliban in the mid 1990s as well as the troubled situation in Afghanistan. Taliban are occupying the Tribal Areas of Pakistan that has become a target of Afghanistan, too. Their power and ferocity is quite visible against a confused coalition government in Islamabad that has failed to reach a consensus over the challenges. The cumulative result of this imbroglio would lead to Benazir's dismissal from power.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif (1990-1993 and 1997-1999)

- N.Sharif won the majority & was elected as PM → first major Punjabi leader to become PM (before him Choudhry Muhammad Ali & Feroz Khan Noon were weak PM's in the 1950's)
- He had support of the religious parties that encouraged him to follow a somewhat anti-US policy.
- However domestic crisis frustrated his designs→ growing poverty, unemployment, inflation coupled with an increasing foreign debt
- Started construction of the Motorway, introduced the "yellow cab scheme", started privatisation of some of the state-owned industries to generate jobs but no significant improvement.
- Growing Kashmiri uprising caused worsening of Pak-India relations despite efforts of Sharif to improve them.
- Religious and business communities remained dissatisfied
- Further problems → January 1993, mysterious death of the military chief, General Aisf Nawaz Janju'a & rumors of Sharif's involvement in the death as the armed forces were quite powerful since the Afghan crisis (1979, Soviet attack on Afghanistan).
- Sharif was pressurized to set an inquiry commission but took a hasty step by suggesting that GIK was involved in the murder.
- GIK, using his powers of the amended constitution (article 58(2)(b)) or the 8th amendment, dismissed the Sharif govt & dissolved the assemblies → caretaker govt & elections scheduled in 90 days.
- Sharif's appeal in the Supreme Court against the action of GIK; Chief Justice Naseem Hassan Shah's verdict against GIK→ serious political crisis, resolved only after military intervention → both Sharif and GIK had to resign.

Nawaz Sharif as P.M. for the Second Time, Feb 1997-Oct 1999

- Elections and Mr.Sharif got heavy mandate in the centre and Punjab.
- Nawaz Sahrif PM, while his brother, Shahbaz Sharif CM of Punjab, but urban Sindh under the MQM.
- Sharif further strengthened his position by replacing Mr. Laghari with Mr.Rafiq Tarar as President of Pakistan.
- Using two-third majority in the parliament, Mr.Sharif scrapped the infamous 8th constitutional amendment, article 58(2) (b) to restore the 1973 constitution in its original shape and enjoy true executive powers.
- With Punjab also under the PML, the Sharif brothers started many development projects e.g. completion of the M-2 phase of the Motorway, "the yellow tractor scheme", cheap housing schemes for the poor and distribution of land among the landless peasants; also continued the privatization of the public sector enterprises.
- Sharif, however, faced serious problems that would have serious long term consequences
- PML had been a right-wing party with the support of religious parties → it supported the militant religious students trained at the religious schools called the 'Madrassas' (schools) → the Taliban
- The Taliban were supported by Usama bin Laden (and perhaps the military intelligence of Pakistan) in making govt in Afghanistan.
- US pressure on Pakistan to influence the Taliban to hand over Bin Laden to the US, as he was suspected to have master-minded the terrorist activities against the US interests e.g. bombing the US embassy in Kenya.
- Sharif earned huge popularity at home but world-wide criticism by conducting a series of nuclear explosions in retaliation to Indian explosions, May 1998→ Pakistan became

a nuclear power but lost economic support by several countries of the West as well as Japan etc.

- Foreign currency accounts in the Pakistani banks were frozen, as anticipation to a serious financial crisis.
- Feb 1999 → serious differences of Sharif with the Pak army → Pak & India on the verge of war in the Kargal area → Pak's claim of nearing victory but the troops had to be removed due to the pressure of the super powers → both the govt and the army blamed each other for the failure.
- Earlier, Sharif had a dispute with the Chief Justice, Sajjad Ali Shah and managed to force him to resign.
- Finally, Oct 1999, Sharif tried to replace the military chief, General Musharraf with his cousin while Musharraf was abroad → his plane was denied landing on the Islamabad Airport.
- There was a miscalculation of Mr. Sharif about the strength of the army.
- Musharraf was able to foil Mr. Sharif, and toppled his govt, 12 Oct 1999.
- He didn't impose martial law but just the military rule; suspended the 1973 constitution and dissolved the parliament; soon President Tarar would feel forced to resign.
- Under a so called deal, Sharif with his family was exiled to Saudi Arabia → Pakistan under military rule for the 4th time.

Reasons for the Dismissal of Nawaz Sharif

- i. First term → Failure to resolve economic and political problems inherited by the govt of PPP.
 - His support for the religious parties & the anti-US policy caused failure to bring about economic revival in Pakistan.
 - Loss of military support due to suspected involvement in the murder of General Asif Janjua.
- ii. Second term → lost international support because of his flawed foreign policy → support for the Taliban & nuclear explosion in the wake of worldwide opposition.
 - Pak faced sanctions and suspension of economic aid by many countries
 - Serious difficulties on domestic front → row with the superior judiciary (dismissal of the Chief Justice of Supreme Court) & differences with MQM.
 - Confrontation with army & failure in the Kargil issue → his miscalculations about General Pervez Musharraf who outsmarted him on 12 Oct 1999.

Q: What problems did Nawaz Sharif face as Prime Minister during the 1990s? (4)

Ans. 1990 -1993 Mr. Sharif was elected from the platform of the IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad), so he was opposed by the PPP and other progressive elements. He also had differences with the President G.I.Khan due to his power under the eighth constitutional amendment. His Yellow Cab Scheme failed as many of the owners became defaulters. His government faced the Co-operative Societies Scandal and the mysterious closure of the BCCI (Bank of Credit and Commerce International) in 1991. He lost the US support as he refused to hand over Usama bin Laden to the US. 1997-1999. His conflict with the Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah made him unpopular. Due to the nuclear explosions in May 1998 many countries stopped economic aid to Pakistan.

Q: What was the BCCI Scandal? (4)

Ans. The BCCI (Bank of Credit and Commerce International) was the world's 7th largest bank operating in Pakistan. It was founded by Mr. Agha Hasan Abedi in 1972. There were concerns about the bank's lending practices and an investigation was conducted by a team of British accountants in 1991. The team detected widespread fraud, embezzlement and manipulation in the bank. Following this, the bank was closed and was required to pay huge fines. Ittefaq Industries of the Sharif family was its major customer. Despite its closure, the bank was allowed to operate for several months in Pakistan, raising doubts about the links of the Sharif's government with the bank.

Q: What was the Cooperative Societies Scandal? (4)

Ans. The Cooperative Societies accepted deposits from members and extended loans only to members for purposes that were beneficial for the Society. Two of such societies were controlled by the relatives of Mr. Sharif. In 1991, four societies in the Punjab suddenly collapsed as a result of which more than two million people lost their life-long savings. The failure of the National Industrial Cooperative Credit Company was the biggest financial collapse in Pakistan. Mr. Sharif's family had borrowed huge loans from these societies, and this increased unpopularity of his government.

Q: What was the Motorway Project? (4)

Ans. Mr. Sharif wanted to build a fast transportation network, the Motorway, to the landlocked states of the Central Asia to provide them access to the ports of Pakistan. The Motorway would also join the major cities of Pakistan with each other and with the rural areas. Its first phase, the M2, was completed in November 1997 that connected Islamabad with Lahore at a cost of several billion dollars. The project suffered continual delays, first by the Bhutto government and then by General Pervez Musharraf in 1999.

Q: What was the Shari'at Bill? (4)

Ans. The Sharif government passed the Shari'at bill in May 1991 as it had won elections from the platform of its religious ally, the IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad). It made the Quran and the Sunnah the law of the land as long as this did not challenge the existing system of government. The bill was criticized by both the IJI and the opposition parties. Little was done by the government to enforce it. When the Federal Shari'at Court asked for measures against interest/riba, no action was taken by the government.

Q: What was the 13th Constitutional Amendment? (4)

Ans. Since the 8th Constitutional Amendment of 1985 had restricted the powers of the PM, the Sharif government acted quickly to repeal it. In 1997, it got the 13th Constitutional Amendment passed by the Parliament. Now the President lost power to appoint and dismiss the government and dissolve the National Assembly. He could also not appoint the three chiefs of the armed forces. The measure was supported by all political parties. However, the events of 1999 would raise questions about its utility or otherwise.

Q: What was the Kargil Conflict? (4)

Ans. Muslim Kashmiri guerrillas crossed the Line of Control in April 1999 and captured the Indian occupied towns of Kargil and Drass. The Pakistan government denied any involvement, but later admitted. India launched a counter attack and two of its aircrafts entered Pakistani air space. One was shot down by Pakistan. Pakistani forces were pushed back in May-June 1999. Fearing a horrible war between the two nuclear states the US President Clinton persuaded Mr. Sharif to withdraw behind the LoC. This brought Mr. Sharif into a conflict with the army.

Q: What was the Kalashnikov Culture?

(4)

Ans: It is the name given to the culture of violence and drug addiction that started in the mid 1980s, and continued in the 1990s. Weapons, especially Kalashnikov, and addictive drug heroine, were easily available as they were brought by the Afghan refugees through the Tribal Areas to Pakistan. Crimes like kidnap for ransom, and sectarian killings increased alongside drug smuggling and addiction. In July 1991, Nawaz Sharif introduced the 12th constitutional amendment to set up the STCs (Speedy Trial Courts) to deal with it but the Opposition criticized these courts.

Q: What was the 14th amendment?

(4)

Ans: It was passed as the Anti-Defection Bill in 1997 by the parliament during Nawaz Sharif's second stint as PM. It restricted the parliament members from switching loyalties so that such politicians could not destabilize a government. Before this, the political turncoats (those changing membership of various parties) could be enticed by various inducements against any government. This strengthened Nawaz Sharif's position but was criticized by the Opposition.

Q: What was the 15th amendment? (4)

Ans: It was passed by the National Assembly in August 1998 during Nawaz Sharif's second tenure as PM. It was first enforced as the Shariat Bill in May 1991 during Sharif's first government. It empowered the Prime Minister to enforce Islamic Shariah in Pakistan. However, there was no significant progress in this regard as it was opposed by the opposition parties did not like an increased role of Islam in the government. It was never taken to the Senate for final approval.

Q: Describe the nuclear testing by Pakistan in 1998. (4)

Ans: India conducted nuclear blasts in May 1998. Pakistan, feeling insecure, also conducted nuclear explosions in the last week of May 1998. Though it increased Nawaz Sharif's popularity at home, Pakistan's aid from the US and Japan was immediately stopped, and several other countries criticised this action. In order to prevent an economic disaster, Sharif's government had to raise fuel prices and negotiate bank loans. A state of emergency was declared, and this became a reason of Nawaz Sharif's fall from power.

Q: What was Nawaz Sharif's conflict with the Supreme Court? (4)

Ans: Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, appointed by Benazir Bhutto, became a critic of Nawaz Sharif. Sharif wanted to reduce the number of judges from 17 to 13. During the hearing of a case against Sharif in November 1997, hundreds of Sharif's supporters stormed the Supreme Court building. Sajjad Ali had to flee for his safety. Sharif failed to persuade President Leghari to remove Sajjad, and appoint an acting Chief Justice. He resigned and Rafiq Tarar became the new President on 2nd December. Shortly later, Sajjad was also replaced by Ajmal Mian as the Chief Justice on 23rd December 1997. This increased opposition against Sharif.

○

Q: Why did Nawaz Sharif fall from office in 1993? (7)

Ans. Nawaz Sharif faced serious difficulties which eventually led to his dismissal from power. He attempted to solve Pakistan's unemployment problem by providing cheap loans to men to buy taxis (Yellow Cab Scheme) that he had imported (Daewoo Cars). Most of the borrowers were unable to repay the loans and hence became defaulters and unemployed. This strained the economy and made him unpopular. Things became worse when he tried to finance major investment projects that depended upon foreign aid especially from the USA. This aid, \$564 million was stopped under the Pressler Amendment that was invoked due to the reduced importance of Pakistan in the post- Cold War era 1992 onwards. So, Pakistan faced more economic difficulties.

Moreover, the closure of a major bank, BCCI (Bank of Credit and Commerce and Investment) also added to Mr. Sharif's difficulties. An inquiry by a British team of accountants detected large scale fraud and shady/questionable lending practices of the Bank. Along with this there was a decline in foreign remittances from the Middle East due to the Gulf War. As a result of these policies Mr. Nawaz Sharif and his government were blamed. The mismanagement of the Cooperative societies led to millions of Pakistanis losing their life long savings. This money was lent to the Sharif family's businesses. Though the loans were immediately repaid, Sharif's image had been damaged. Violence in Pakistan that related to drugs and the use of guns led to a strong response from Sharif but his actions were criticized by the opposition parties for being too repressive. Finally, Sharif came into conflict with the President over the appointment of an army chief of staff and also with the Eighth Constitutional Amendment. Sharif was dismissed on charges of corruption. Though the Supreme Court reinstated him as PM, the political crisis worsened and both the PM and the President were shown the exit.

Q: Was the collapse of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) the main reason for the government ending in 1993? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans.

Nawaz Sharif was first elected in 1990 from the platform of the IJI (Islami Jamhuri Ittehad). He gained fame for starting many new schemes but they were overshadowed by various scandals. The BCCI (Bank of Credit and Commerce

International) was the world's 7th largest bank operating in Pakistan. It was founded by Mr. Agha Hasan Abedi in 1972. There were concerns about the bank's lending practices and an investigation was conducted by a team of British accountants in 1991. The team detected widespread fraud, embezzlement and manipulation in the bank. Following this, the bank was closed and was required to pay huge fines. Ittefaq Industries of the Sharif family was its major customer. Despite its closure, the bank was allowed to operate for several months in Pakistan, raising doubts about the links of the Sharif's government with the bank.

The Cooperative Societies accepted deposits from members and extended loans only to members for purposes that were beneficial for the Society. Two of such societies were controlled by the relatives of Mr. Sharif. In 1991, four societies in the Punjab suddenly collapsed as a result of which more than two million people lost their life-long savings. The failure of the National Industrial Cooperative Credit Company was the biggest financial collapse in Pakistan. Mr. Sharif's family had borrowed huge loans from these societies, and this increased unpopularity of his government.

Nawaz Sharif introduced the "yellow cab" scheme by giving loans to the unemployed youth to buy taxis. This however was a failed scheme as most of the borrowers became defaulters as they were unable to repay the loans. He announced a national reconstruction program to industrialize Pakistan. His economic policies were undermined by a lack of capital for investment, especially after the stoppage of the US aid of \$ 564 million. Foreign capital increased when he loosened foreign exchange restrictions and opened Pakistan's stock market to foreign capital but the government still faced a shortage of funds for investment. The US aid dropped significantly after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1988. The reduction in overseas aid, high spendings by the government and a decrease in foreign remittances added to his difficulties.

Sharif's policy of supporting the Afghan warlords also created problems for him. This led to a culture of drug trafficking and use of illegal arms (the Klashinkov culture) as a result of the Soviet-Afghan war. The government had to deal with rampant crime, terrorism and drug addiction especially in major cities like Karachi. The police and military tried to maintain law and order but were unsuccessful. The government passed the 12th amendment to the constitution which provided "Speedy Trial Courts" to dispense summary justice. The aim of this was to control the crime rate but was criticized by the Opposition as it suppressed fundamental human rights. Nawaz Sharif passed the Shariat Bill in May 1991, making the Quran and Sunnah the law of the land as long as it did not challenge the existing system of government. It was welcomed by the religious parties but they wanted its immediate implementation. It became unpopular as the Opposition criticized the increased role of Islam in government. Nawaz Sharif's first term ended in 1993 when Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed his government on the allegations of corruption and mismanagement of the economy.

Closure of the BCCI seems to be the most important reason for the downfall of Nawaz Sharif because the scandals involving misuse of money lowered his grace in the eyes of the whole nation. Working of the Bank despite proven irregularities in extending loans to Sharif's business raised many questions about the credibility of his government.

Q: Why Nawaz Sharif was dismissed in 1999?

Or

Why did General Musharraf come to power in 1999?

[7]

Ans.

Nawaz Sharif earned the anger of Pak Army. He acted as a powerful PM 1997 – 1999 but had entangled himself with the judiciary and the army. He had started supporting the Taliban and their government in Afghanistan. He refused to hand Usama bin Ladin over to US who suspected his involvement in the bombing of the US embassy in Kenya. This damaged the Pak-US relations that were already strained since the end of the Cold War 1991-92.

The US was also critical of Pakistan's nuclear ambitions. Its anger grew when Pakistan tested nuclear weapons on 28th May 1998 in response to Indian doing the same a couple of weeks ago. Pakistan's economic and military aid was stopped by US, Japan and West European states creating serious difficulties for Pakistan. Sharif had to declare emergency in Pakistan and ordered freezing of the FCA's (Foreign Currency Accounts) of Pakistanis who had deposited their savings in foreign currency. This made him unpopular.

In May 1999, the Pak Army was involved in a conflict with the Indian Army in Kargil, Kashmir. After some initial gains it had to retreat and Sharif accused General Parvez Musharraf for this humiliation. The army rejected Sharif's accusation. Sharif tried to replace Musharraf with Gen. Zia ud Din Butt, Sharif's cousin. Accordingly, Musharraf's plane was denied landing on the Islamabad Airport on his return from Sri Lanka. Musharraf had the support of the army who immediately took control of the government from Nawaz Sharif on 12th October, 1999. General Musharraf declared military rule, but not Martial Law and after some time, allowed the Sharif family to go into exile in Saudi Arabia.

Q: How successful was Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister of Pakistan in the years 1990-1993 and 1996-1999? (14)

Ans.

Nawaz Sharif first came to power in 1990 and ruled the country in two terms, first; from 1990 to 1993 and second; from 1996 to 1999.

Nawaz Sharif was first elected in 1990 from the platform of the IJI (Islami Jamhuri Ittehad). He announced a national reconstruction program to industrialize Pakistan. He introduced a policy of privatizing the SOU's (State Owned Units) under which a number of important industries, such as shipping, electricity supply, airlines and telecommunications were opened up to the private sector under the Privatization Commission. He introduced several large scale projects to stimulate the economy, such as the Ghazi Barotha Hydro Power Project and the Gwadar Miniport in Balochistan. He introduced the "yellow cab" scheme by giving loans to the unemployed youth to buy taxis. This however was a failed scheme as most of the borrowers became defaulters as they were unable to repay the loans. Another major project was to build the Motorway. The aim was to provide a fast transportation network to the newly independent Central Asian Republics that needed access to seaports. Although its first phase, the M2 (between Islamabad and Lahore) was completed in Nov 1997, the project suffered from continual delays.

Nawaz Sharif's economic policies were undermined by a lack of capital for investment, specially after the stoppage of the US aid of \$ 564 million. Foreign capital increased when he loosened foreign exchange restrictions and opened Pakistan's stock market to foreign capital but the government still faced a shortage of funds for investment. The US aid dropped significantly after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1988. The reduction in overseas aid, high spendings by the government and a decrease in foreign remittances added to his difficulties. The closure of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) in 1991 was linked with questionable lending practices and fraud, and blame was put on the government. Sharif also lost popularity because of the 'Co-operative Societies scandal'. Cooperative societies accepted deposits from members and gave loans to them for investment schemes. However, mismanagement of these societies led to their collapse in which millions of Pakistanis lost money. It was soon discovered that these societies had, granted large loans to Sharif's family business, the Ittefaq Group. Although Sharif hurriedly repaid the loans, his unpopularity increased.

There was also the problem of drug trafficking and illegal arms (the Klashinkov culture) as a result of the Soviet-Afghan war. The govt. had to deal with rampant crime, terrorism and drug addiction especially in major cities like Karachi. The police and military tried to maintain law and order but were unsuccessful. The govt. passed the 12th amendment to the constitution which provided "Speedy Trial Courts" to dispense summary justice. The aim of this was to control the crime rate but was criticized by the Opposition as it suppressed fundamental human rights. Nawaz Sharif passed the Shariat Bill in May 1991, making the Quran and Sunnah the law of the land as long as it did not challenge the existing system of government. It was welcomed by the religious parties but they wanted its immediate implementation. It became unpopular as the Opposition criticized the increased role of Islam in government. Nawaz Sharif's first term ended in 1993 when Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed his government on the allegations of corruption and mismanagement of the economy.

Nawaz Sharif was again elected as the Prime Minister in 1997. This time he had a decisive majority in the parliament. So, his first acts was to pass the 13th Amendment which repealed the 8th Amendment that authorized the President to dismiss the Prime Minister and the assemblies. This measure was supported by all political parties. To curtail instability in the country. Sharif also passed the Anti-defection Bill under the 14th amendment. This prevented politicians from switching parties (political turncoats) so that they could not exploit any weak and vulnerable government. Using his powers fully, Sharif arrested journalists who wrote critical articles against him. Unexpected tax inspections of the selected newspaper editors were carried out.

In 1997, Sharif had to defend himself in the Supreme Court on charges of corruption. He, using the Parliament's support asked the President to dismiss the Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, and this led to a tussle between the government and the Supreme Court. Sharif's supporters stormed the building and proceedings had to be suspended. In May 1998, Pakistan conducted nuclear explosions. This increased Sharif's popularity as people felt strengthened due to Pakistan becoming a nuclear power but it caused loss of foreign aid from the US, Japan and other countries putting Pakistan in serious economic difficulties. The Sharif government had to freeze the FCA's (Foreign Currency Accounts) of Pakistani depositors. Sharif had to raise the price of fuel and negotiate bank loans to keep the government from bankruptcy. He also introduced a state of emergency, curtailing all civil rights. Sharif tried to strengthen his position by passing the 15th Amendment which made Sharia the supreme law of Pakistan and empowered the PM to enforce the Sharia the full authority. He did not ask the Senate to ratify the measure as he was uncertain about the depth of his support. Sharif's rule went into serious trouble during the Kargil crisis during May 1999. He developed differences with General Pervez Musharraf over the withdrawal of Pak Army from Kargil, Kashmir. Sharif tried to replace him with his cousin Gen. Butt, but found his govt. toppled by the army on 12th Oct. 1999.

It may be concluded that Nawaz Sharif was not very successful twice as PM because he failed to have good relations with such important institutes as the armed forces and the supreme judiciary mainly because of his authoritarian way of governance and partly due to financial scams surrounding his government.

Q: Was his conflict with General Perwez Masharraf the main reason of toppling of Nawaz Sharif's second government in 1999? Explain your answer. [14]

Ans:

Nawaz Sharif returned to power for the second time in February 1997. He had a comfortable majority in the National Assembly and Senate. He, therefore, was able to get important bills passed from the parliament. The 13th amendment annulled the 8th amendment, and restored the powers of the PM, and made President just a ceremonial head of the state. The 14th amendment was passed as the Anti-Defection Bill that restrained the parliamentarians to switch loyalties in order to exploit a weak government. Apparently these were good steps but the results were not good. Sharif's government became oppressive towards the opposition parties and the media. The Opposition felt insecure in the parliament. Journalists who wrote against his government were threatened or jailed. Heavy taxes were imposed on some newspapers. Sharif's

secret police kidnapped a famous editor, Mr Najam Sethi, in May 1996, but had to release him on international protests.

The same year Sharif locked horns with the Supreme Court. Sajjad Ali Shah had been appointed as Chief Justice by Benazir Bhutto. He summoned Nawaz Sharif to defend charges of corruption against him. Sharif wanted to reduce the number of the Supreme Court judges from 17 to 12. Sajjad Ali asked the President to reinstate the 5 judges, Sharif got a motion passed from the National Assembly asking the President to dismiss the Chief Justice. President Leghari, however, refused to obey Sharif's unfair demand. In November 1997, hundreds of Sharif's supporters attacked the Supreme Court building during the proceedings of a "contempt of court case". Sajjad Ali had to leave the court with other judges. In December 1997, both the President and the Chief Justice resigned in protest. After some days, Rafiq Tarar, a retired judge, loyal to the Sharif family, became the new President, and Sajjad Ali Shah was replaced by Justice Ajmal Mian as the permanent Chief Justice in a mysterious way. These developments affected Sharif's popularity and opposition grew against him. In May 1998, Pakistan conducted nuclear blasts in response to the Indian nuclear testing the same month. Though it strengthened Sharif's political position, his government faced serious economic challenges. Japan, the US and many other countries stopped aid to Pakistan. Sharif declared emergency in the country, raised fuel prices and ordered freezing of the FCAs (Foreign Currency Accounts) of all Pakistanis.

Army had been instrumental in Pakistani politics for a long time, and Sharif made a desperate attempt to exclude army from political affairs. He removed the army chief, General Jahangir Karamat when he demanded a position in the National Security Council. Sharif appointed Pervez Musharraf as the next chief thinking he would cooperate with the government. Soon, however, Musharraf would prove more problematic than Sharif had imagined.

Only months after the Lahore Declaration of peace between India and Pakistan, both countries were once again on the brink of a third war. The Kashmiri guerrillas crossed the LoC (Line of Control) and occupied the strategic Indian towns of Kargil and Drass in April 1999. India retaliated in May 1999 and bombarded Pakistani territories heavily. Sharif initially denied, but soon India provided evidence of Pakistani involvement in Kargil. After failing to seek the US intervention, Sharif ordered withdrawal of Pakistan army, and this brought him in clash with Musharraf as both Sharif and army blamed each other for the failure in Kargil. People, in general, also opposed Sharif's decision. Sharif feared a coup, and decided to replace Musharraf with one of his close relatives, General Zia ud Din Butt. While Musharraf was on a tour to Sri Lanka, Sharif ordered the CAA (Civil Aviation Authority) not to let Musharraf's plane land on any airport on his return. This unified top army officials against Sharif, and on Musharraf's safe landing, his government was toppled on 12th October 1999. Musharraf declared military rule, not martial law, in Pakistan.

It may be said that Nawaz Sharif's confrontation with General Musharraf was the decisive factor in the loss of his government because, like Z.A. Bhutto, he also miscalculated the power of the army as an organised and inherently stable institution of Pakistan.

Source A: a statement by General Pervez Musharraf about the Kargil issue,

"Pakistan was in a dominating position in five different fronts in the war. The Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was briefed on the situation at least two times. Mr Sharif is wrong in his statements about not taken into confidence regarding the withdrawal of the Pakistan army from Kargil. He kept asking me whether we should withdraw. Raja Zafar ul Haq and Chaudhary Shuja'at had opposed my decision of withdrawing the army."

Q.1 (a) What do we learn from the source A about Pervez Musharraf's stance over the Kargil issue? [3]

Ans.

Pervez Musharraf is claiming about the dominant position of the Pakistan army on five different fronts. He is belying Mr Sharif's statements about not being taken into confidence over the Kargil issue. He is further asserting that two key cabinet members of Mr Sharif were opposed to his decision of withdrawing from Kargil.



Source B, a photograph of PM Mr. Sharif meeting General Musharraf in the Kargil area of Kashmir territory in 1999.

Q. How does source B help us understand the Kargil crisis? [5]

Ans.

This seems a critical time as Mr. Sharif has reached the snow-covered area by a military chopper/Helicopter. Mr. Sharif finds it difficult to make his way on the snowy ground while General Musharraf is standing comfortably because of his tough military training for such areas. Some important decisions seem to be taken that could not be discussed on a wireless system. General Musharraf looks a bit more serious against Mr. Sharif who is perhaps smiling. The Kargil conflict would lead to an increased hostility between India and Pakistan as well as Mr. Sharif's differences with Pak army.

Source A,

A part of an essay by Irfan Husain on the Kargil Conflict, 1999:

"Presumably, the idea behind the operation was to focus the international limelight on Kashmir in the expectation that the world would hasten to defuse a potential conflict that could go nuclear. It back fired badly. We were seen as the aggressors as nobody believed that Kashmiri militants could mount or sustain an operation of this magnitude. So, India came out smelling roses, while we had eggs all over our face."

Q(a) According to the source, describe Pakistan's failure in the Kargil Conflict. (3)

Ans. Pakistan expected an intervention by the world powers in the State of Kashmir but, instead of this, it was accused of supporting the militants. It was seen as an aggressive state that had crossed the international boundary between the two parts of Kashmir. India, therefore, gained a diplomatic success and foiled Pakistan's plan.

Source B,

A cartoon showing India and Pakistan becoming nuclear states.



Q(b) Describe the message being conveyed through the cartoon in the source B. [5]

Ans.

The source portrays the disastrous consequences of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the two states. It sarcastically renames India as 'Hindushima' and Pakistan as 'Pagasaki' reminding the horrible tragedies of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in August 1945. This way it is warning the two states of the results of developing nuclear weapons. The multiple cracks on the landscape of India and Pakistan, and the smoke being emitted from the big craters convey the message of the impact of nuclear weapons. The remark on the source foretells the failure of any peaceful negotiations about the Kashmir issue.

Miscellaneous Questions of Section 3

Q. Why did Pakistan face so many problems with the provision of education between 1947 and 1999? (7)

Ans. Education is expensive in Pakistan. Despite several efforts by various governments, the claim of providing free primary education has not proved true. Children are expected to buy their own books and stationery. Similarly, parents have to pay for the transport and uniform expenses. With an increasing inflation, this becomes difficult for the poor rural population.

Educational facilities in most of the public sector institutes are not good, especially in rural areas where about 65% of the population lives. There are poorly built schools with poor seating arrangements and an inefficient water and sewerage system. In many villages classes are held in the shade of trees. There is a high dropout rate due to the issue of corporal punishment by the poorly paid teachers. Lesser funds are available for education as most of the spendings are reserved for defence.

There is popular opposition to female education in most of the rural and tribal areas as parents and religious scholars are opposed to this. There are not many trained teachers due to a lack of teachers' training institutes and programs. In tribal areas the tribal chiefs usually resist any social development schemes like the provision of education.

Q: How successful was Pakistan in establishing a new constitution between 1947 and 1973? Explain your answer. (14)

Ans. Making the constitution was a slow process. In March 1949, the Objectives Resolution was passed by the National Assembly under Liaquat Ali Khan's government. It proposed a plan of making the constitution based on the objectives of democracy, equality and social justice as laid down by Islam. It also guaranteed protection of human rights and religious minorities as well as an independent judiciary. In 1952, certain Islamic clauses were included in the draft in order to satisfy the Ulema. The head of state was required to be a Muslim. The government was to be guided by a team of religious scholars to make laws according to Islam. Moreover, it recommended a bicameral parliament with equal seats for East and West Pakistan. However, the Objectives Resolution was criticised especially by East Pakistan who resented that Urdu was to be the official language because Bengali was spoken by all the East Pakistanis. It also opposed the idea of equal representation in the National Assembly, and demanded seats according to the size of its population. The death of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, caused an unusual delay in the process of constitution making. The Basic Principles Committee's report also failed to resolve the issue of the official language and the number of seats in the National Assembly.

The second Constituent Assembly, under Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, implemented the constitution on 23rd March 1956. Under the constitution, name of the country was the Islamic Republic of Pakistan whose president was to be a Muslim of over 40. He was to be elected by the National and Provincial Assemblies and he had the power to appoint and dismiss the PM and dissolve the assemblies. The National Assembly had equal seats of East and West Pakistan. Urdu and Bengali were declared the national languages. The constitution was, however, heavily criticised since it empowered the president to dismiss the elected government and dissolve the parliament. This went against the spirit of a parliamentary form of government. East Pakistan was very unhappy at not having majority in the Assembly that it believed its vast population deserved.

Ayub Khan introduced the Basic Democracies in 1959 that comprised a four tier structure of local governments elected at various levels. Due to the success of this system, a new constitution was enforced in March 1962 after lifting the martial law. The constitution introduced a presidential form of government with the National Assembly having equal seats for East and West Pakistan. The president was elected by the Basic Democrats for five years. He could make any law or reject the legislation of the parliament. However, the constitution gradually became unpopular due to the dominance and powers of landlords in the parliament. The Basic Democracies often used force or bribery to influence the results. The constitution also upset the people of East Pakistan as they were once again under-represented in the Parliament that was made a subordinate body to a military ruler.

In August 1973, Z.A. Bhutto enforced the 1973 Constitution that introduced a purely parliamentary form of government with a bicameral parliament. The upper house was the Senate while the lower house was the National Assembly. The PM, elected by the National Assembly for five years, was the executive head whereas the president was only a figure head of the state. It introduced more Islamic clauses. However, the Ulema launched an anti-Qadiani movement in 1974, and the government was forced to redefine a Muslim under a constitutional amendment.

It may be concluded that Pakistan was quite successful in making a new constitution because the process was completed after several setbacks, political instability and two military coups. The Pakistani politics evolved through all these hindrances to finally achieve the goal of a purely parliamentary form of government in 1973. This constitution managed to survive in the years to come.

Q: How successful have Governments of Pakistan been in Islamisation of constitution between 1947 & 1999? (14)

Ans

Various governments took steps for Islamisation of constitution. When the Objectives Resolution was passed in March 1949, the Ulema realised it needed Islamic clauses. They wanted to enforce Islamic Sharia in Pakistan. Therefore, it had to be reviewed by the Basic Principles Committee. However, it was withdrawn by Liaqat Ali Khan.

The PM Ch. Muhammad Ali drafted the first constitution of Pakistan that was enforced in March 1956. It required the President and the Prime Minister to be Muslims. Pakistan was named as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. An Islamic advisory council was created to advise the government to make laws according to the Quran and Sunnah. However, being advisory in nature, it did not have legislative powers. Therefore, no significant progress was made for making Islamic laws. The 1956 constitution was abrogated in October 1958.

President Ayub Khan implemented the new constitution in March 1962. Like the previous constitution, the name of the country was the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and the head of the state was required to be Muslim. Similarly, the Islamic Advisory Council was assigned the task of advising the government to make laws in conformity to the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. It too, however, was not empowered to make laws in this regard. This constitution was abrogated in March 1969, and Pakistan remained without a constitution for about four years.

The PM Mr Bhutto framed the third constitution that was implemented in August 1973. It had more powerful Islamic clauses. Name of the country remained IRP, and the condition of the head of state to be a Muslim was also retained in this constitution. Moreover, in the wake of the decisive phase of the anti-Qadiani Movement in 1974, definition of the word Muslim was revised. Accordingly, a Muslim was defined as the one who belived in One Allah and Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) as the last Messenger of Allah. Teaching of Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies was made compulsory at the school and college levels in all public and private sector institutions. The Qadiani community strongly protested as it had been unanimously declared non-Muslim.

General Zia ul Haq declared third Martial Law in July 1977, and suspended the 1973 constitution. He, however, introduced a series of Islamic laws that would be incorporated into the constitution after its restoration in March 1985. He enforced the Hudood and Qazf Ordinance in 1979. Under this, Islamic punishments were given to those found guilty of major crimes like adultery, theft and drinking. Though several Muslims welcomed these steps, the non-Muslims and the women organizations expressed their reservations. Under the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance, Zakat was deducted from the bank deposits on the first of Ramadan every year, and distributed among the poor. The Shia Muslims protested over compulsory deduction of Zakat from their bank deposits, and soon, they were exempted from this. The Blasphemy Law had been part of Pakistan's legal system since beginning. Zia, however, elevated its maximum punishment to the death sentence. The law was aimed at punishing those who showed any degree of disregard to the Holy Quran or the Holy Prophet. The non-Muslims believed it to be a discriminatory law and felt insecure in Pakistan, though all religious scholars fully supported it. He also set up the Federal Shariat Court that was required to examine the existing laws to ensure if they were according to the Sharia or not. Zia tried to give a more Islamic touch to the society under his so called "Chadar and Char Diwari Culture" (women to observe Hijab and prefer to stay indoors). The Ulema welcomed these measures while liberal women circles sharply cirtcised them.

Benazir Bhutto served as PM twice, 1988-90 and 1993-96. Having, liberal views she opposed any significant role of Islam in Pakistan. She wanted to restore the 1973 constitution in its original form. However, she could not repeal the Islamic laws of Zia as she did not have a majority in the parliament.

Nawaz Sharif during his first term as PM, passed the Shariat Bill in May 1991, making the Quran and Sunnah the law of the land as long as it did not challenge the existing system of government. It was welcomed by the religious parties but they wanted its immediate implementation. It became unpopular as the Opposition criticized the increased role of Islam in government. During his second term as PM, Nawaz Sharif tried to strengthen his position by passing the 15th Amendment. It made the Sharia the supreme law of Pakistan and empowered the PM to enforce it. However, he did not ask the Senate to ratify the measure as he was uncertain about the depth of his support. So, there was no significant progress in this regard.

It may be concluded that the process of Islamisation has not been very successful because of a continued state of political instability and failure of the Ulema to win full support of the people of Pakistan.

Foreign Relations of Pakistan Pakistan-USA Relations

Q: Why did being a nuclear power create difficulties for Pakistan in the 1980s and 1990s? (7)

Ans:

Pakistan had started its nuclear programme in the 1970s but the world powers began to object to it. Pakistan was pressurized to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1980 but Pakistan subjected its acceptance to India doing the same. Benazir Bhutto defended Pakistan's nuclear programme in her speech in the US Congress as she could not risk disturbed relations with the US. The US had started extending generous military aid to Pakistan after the Soviet invasion on Afghanistan in December 1979. However, after 1985 this aid was stopped under the Presslar Amendment. Under this the US aid could be given to a country that the American President declared as a non-nuclear state. By pointing to Pakistan's nuclear ambitions, the promised economic aid of \$ 4 million was stopped.

The stoppage of the aid adversely affected Pakistan as it had been supporting the US in its war against the Soviets through the Afghan Mujahideen. Pakistan had paid money to buy 28 F-16 war planes from the US who suddenly refused to deliver the planes as well as return the paid money. Pakistan was the third largest recipient of the US aid, and the promised package was to run until 1993. This led to a significant deterioration of relations between the two countries, and many economic development projects of Pakistan were suspended.

In the early 1990s, Pakistan's importance for the US decreased after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the end of the Cold War. In 1992, the US was about to declare Pakistan as state sponsor of terrorism and place economic sanctions on it. Pakistan

protested on this by pointing towards India who too had been more ambitious of acquiring nuclear weapons. It also reminded the US of its support in the 1990 Gulf War but the US continued to condemn Pakistan's nuclear ambition. Finally, when Pakistan conducted nuclear blasts in May 1998, after India had taken the initiative the same month. Pakistan, however, faced more serious consequences. Many countries stopped economic and military aid to it including Japan, the US and the UK. This led to Pakistan facing economic difficulties, and the Sharif government had to declare a financial emergency, take fresh loans and freeze the foreign currency accounts of several Pakistanis in the local banks.

Q: How successful was Pakistan in its relationship with the USA between 1947 and 1999? (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, **14** marks; for Q.1 part d, **10** marks

Ans: Pak-US relations have been generally successful. In 1947, at the time of creation of Pakistan, the USA was engaged in the Cold War, a state of hostility between the USA and the USSR/now Russia. It was busy in the anti-Soviet alliances in various parts of the world. It, therefore, took some years for the USA to recognize the geo-political importance of Pakistan. Pakistan's Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan changed his plan to visit Moscow, and flew to Washington in 1950. This laid the basis of the Pak-USA relations.

Throughout the 1950's Pakistan received military and economic aid from the USA and joined the US-sponsored anti-Soviet/communist regional military blocs of the SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) and the CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) to counter the Soviet in the South East Asia and the Middle East, in 1954 and 1955. Under the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement in May 1954 and some other agreements heavy aid was granted to Pakistan.

In the late 1950's, Ayub Khan allowed the USA to build air bases in Pakistan to conduct espionage on the Soviets. After the 1965 Pak-India war, the US aid was gradually restored but the warmth of relations was visibly reduced. 1979 onwards, there was remarkable improvement in relations after the Soviet attack on Afghanistan. Pakistan assumed great importance for the USA who extended heavy military and economic aid to Pakistan so that it could help the Afghan Mujahideen against the Soviets and accommodate millions of Afghan refugees. Zia's government in 1981, received an aid of \$1.6 billion and a further 1.5 billion Pound Sterling loan at low interest rate to buy modern American weapons. In 1986, \$4.2 billion military and economic aid was given. Thus, after Israel and Egypt, Pakistan became the 3rd largest recipient of American aid. After the end of the Afghan war, Benazir Bhutto visited the USA in June 1989 to try to improve relations. Nawaz Sharif's visits to Washington 1991-1992, were attempts to convince the US about the peaceful nuclear program of Pakistan. President Bill Clinton tried to restore relations by opposing the Pressler Amendment that had stopped aid to Pakistan. In January 1995 the Defence Secretary, William Perry visited Pakistan and promised aid. Benazir Bhutto visited the USA in 1996 and, under the Brown Amendment, many sanctions were lifted and a package of \$388 million military aid was given to Pakistan. In 1996 Mrs. Hilary Clinton visited Pakistan to further improve relations.

However, there were many failures in the relations. 1947-1950 the US attitude was cold towards Pakistan. In the 1962 India-China war, American aid to India disappointed Pakistan. Ayub's visits to Beijing and Moscow in the 1960's greatly offended the Americans. In the wars of 1965 and 1971, the US aid to Pakistan was stopped. Pakistan also could not receive any aid from the SEATO and CENTO

because they could only help Pakistan in case of attack by a communist state (the USSR).

Z.A. Bhutto's visible pro-Soviet and pro-China policies also damaged the Pak-USA relations. Despite his visit to Washington in 1972, he could not get any aid. The US also criticized Bhutto's threat to develop nuclear weapons in 1974. Bhutto blamed the USA for supporting the anti-Bhutto campaign of 1977. In Nov. 1979, during Zia's government, the US Embassy in Islamabad was burned by an angry mob. The US accused Zia of supporting the mob. Under the Geneva Accord of 1988, the USSR agreed to withdraw from Afghanistan. This suddenly reduced Pakistan's importance for the USA. Under various laws, the US aid was stopped and objections were raised about Pakistan's nuclear programs. Senator Larry Pressler in 1991 warned Pakistan to take steps against the growth of fundamentalism (extremism in Muslims). In 1996, the US objected to China's plan to supply M-11 missiles to Pakistan. In the late 1990's, the issue of Taliban and Nawaz Sharif's refusal to hand over Usama bin Laden to the USA damaged the relations. In May 1998, Pakistan's nuclear blasts shocked the USA and all aid was stopped to Pakistan.

It may be concluded that the relations were generally successful because of Pakistan's strategic location in South Asia and its keenness to promote the American interests in the region for the sake of maintaining a balance of power by countering the Indian dream of becoming the policeman in the region.

Pakistan-USSR/Soviet Union Relations The USSR till 1990; Russia/The Russian Federation/Russia 1990 onwards

Q: Describe Pakistan's involvement in the U-2 crisis. (4)

Ans. Pakistan had allowed the US to use its air bases for espionage against the USSR. U-2, a spy plane, was caught by the Soviets in 1960. On inquiry its pilot Francis Gary Powers admitted that the plane had been launched from an air base in Peshawar. The Soviets felt angry on this and threatened Pakistan of dire consequences including a military action. It asked Pakistan not to let Americans use its air bases for any similar espionage operation. This incident shows the close relations of Pakistan with the US. However, this also became a reason for improving its relations with the USSR.

Q) How successful was Pakistan's relationship with the USSR between 1947 and 1999? Explain your answer? (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, 14 marks; for Q.1 part d, 10 marks

Ans. Pakistan tried to establish good relations with the USSR after gaining independence though circumstances proved otherwise. The USSR being very close to Pakistan's neighbourhood via Afghanistan, first established the diplomatic relations in May 1948. It invited PM Liaqat Ali Khan to visit Moscow, and Liaqat was about to leave for Moscow when he received another invitation from Washington. In 1961 Soviets offered oil exploration in Pakistan after the 1960 U-2 incident. Soviets had captured the American spy plane U-2 that had been launched from Peshawar. Moreover, in the 1962 Sino-India/China-India war the USA extended aid to India against China without informing Pakistan. For these reasons Ayub Khan decided to improve relations with the USSR. In 1963 Soviet Union extended a loan of 11 million Sterling Pounds to Pakistan. In 1963, it changed its previous policy of supporting India and adopted a neutral stance over the Kashmir issue. In April 1965 Ayub paid an official visit to the USSR and signed a number of agreements on trade and oil explorations.

After the end of the 1965 war, the Soviet Union mediated between Pakistan and India to reach a peace agreement. Accordingly, the Tashkent Accord was signed in January 1966. The Pakistani government admired the Soviet efforts in this regard. In 1968 when the Americans decided to close their airbase at Peshawar, the USSR began to supply arms to Pakistan. Thus Pakistan became a unique country by receiving trilateral aid from the USA, the USSR and China.

Z.A. Bhutto had communist and socialist views. He was able to improve relations with the USSR significantly. In 1972, he visited Moscow and persuaded the Soviets to help Pakistan build a steel mill near Karachi, the PSM (Pakistan Steel Mill). Relations remained friendly till the fall of Z.A. Bhutto 1977.

After the Geneva Accord of 1988 the Soviet army began to leave Afghanistan. After 2-3 years, the USSR became the Russian Federation. The Russian Vice President Mr. Rutskoy visited Islamabad in 1991 to start friendly relations with Pakistan. Russia needed Pakistan's help to restore peace in Afghanistan. Then in 1993 Mr. A.V. Kozyrev, another important official visited Pakistan. In April 1999 Nawaz Sharif visited Moscow and in return a Russian delegation visited Islamabad. In June 1999 the Russian President Boris Yelstin appealed to India and Pakistan to end the Kargil conflict.

However, both countries had many failures, too. In 1950, Liaquat's decision to visit Washington instead of Moscow, disappointed the USSR. In retaliation, the USSR continued to support India on the Kashmir issue in the 1950's. During the same time period, Pakistan further displeased the Soviets by joining the US-sponsored military blocs of the SEATO and CENTO. India as a result began to receive Soviet aid. Pakistan rejected the Soviet offer of oil exploration in 1956. In 1959-60, the Soviets captured the American spy plane U-2 and found out that it had been launched from Peshawar airbase. The Soviet President issued a serious threat to Pakistan.

It was also unhappy over Pakistan's involvement in the US-China diplomatic relations in 1970-71. It signed an agreement with India and kept China from helping Pakistan in the 1971 war. December 1979 onwards relations with the USSR remained strained due to Pakistan's direct involvement in the Afghan war. Pakistan's ISI (Inter Services Intelligence) was accused of training and arming the Afghan Mujahideen with the help of the USA. Therefore, General Zia was received in a cold way when he visited Moscow in 1984 to attend the funeral of the Russian President Andropov. Pakistan also boycotted the Moscow Olympics 1980.

After the breakup of the USSR, there was no remarkable improvement in relations. Russia was unhappy over Pakistan's support for some groups of the Afghan Mujahideen in the 1990's. India was given several Russian-manufactured Mirage-2000 aircrafts that India used during the Kargil conflict. Russia also objected to Pakistan's nuclear policy and the nuclear blasts of May 1998.

If viewed objectively, Pak-USSR relations have not been successful mainly due to Pakistan's opposition to the atheistic communist ideology and economic policy of the Soviets. Pakistan was also opposed to the Soviet expansionist designs in sharp contrast to a non-expansionist China.

Pakistan's Relations with Great Britain and the Commonwealth

Q: How successful was Pakistan in its relationship with Great Britain and the Commonwealth between 1947 and 1999? Explain your answer. (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, 14 marks; for Q.1 part d, 10 marks

Ans: Pakistan maintained good relations with Great Britain and the Commonwealth. After independence in 1947, the British provided Jinnah with help at the top levels of both the military and the civil service. There were many senior British officers like General Douglas Gracy in the Pakistan army to train them along modern lines. It also gave financial and technical aid and advice to cope with the difficulties. Pakistan chose to remain a member of the Commonwealth as it was now a British dominion (being independent but recognizing the British Emperor as technical head of state). In a Commonwealth meeting in 1950 in Colombo, the Colombo Plan was set up to extend aid to Pakistan. It also provided one million Sterling Pounds for the Sui gas project. Canada gave \$ 40 million for the development of railways.

In 1954-55 Pakistan and Britain agreed to work together as members of SEATO and CENTO. Britain played key role in ending the 1965 war. Then during the Afghanistan crisis, Britain supported Pakistan. British PM Mrs. Margaret Thatcher was the first Western leader to visit Pakistan in 1981 during the Afghan war. An aid of 30 million Sterling Pounds was given to Pakistan to accommodate the Afghan refugees. Another aid of 16 million Sterling Pounds was given to help refugees in Balochistan and KPK. During the 1980's Britain remained a major trading partner of Pakistan, with an estimated 376 million Sterling Pounds worth a trade between the two countries by 1986. Benazir Bhutto rejoined the Commonwealth in 1989 as the military rule of Zia had ended in 1988. In the 1990's both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif continued to pay visits to Great Britain to strengthen mutual relations. Pakistan has been an active participant in the Commonwealth Games. The Queen of England visited Pakistan on 14th August 1997 to attend the Golden Jubilee ceremony of the creation of Pakistan. She was accorded very warm welcome. Presence of a sizeable Pakistani population in England has also played an important role in improving the relations. Some of these Pakistanis managed to get elected in the British Parliament.

However, relations between the two states have witnessed failures too. Many Pakistani army officers were not happy with the British officers in their ranks and some of them unsuccessfully tried a military coup in 1951. Pakistani government also had reservations about the Radcliffe Award as some Muslim majority districts in Punjab had been given to India. British failure to resolve the Kashmir dispute was also a setback for the relations. In 1956, the British attack on the Suez Canal in Egypt was criticized by Pakistan. Relations were also affected when Pakistan could not receive any aid from SEATO and CENTO in the wars of 1965 and 1971. When Great Britain recognized the Republic of Bangladesh, Pakistan left SEATO and the Commonwealth.

Z.A. Bhutto's inclination towards the communist and socialist states of the USSR and China was not liked by Great Britain. When death sentence was awarded to Bhutto, Britain did not pressurize Zia for an amnesty to Bhutto though Bhutto expected this from his friend Mr. James Callaghan, the British Foreign Minister. In the 1990's, Great Britain, like the USA continued to express its concerns over Pakistan's nuclear program. When Pakistan conducted nuclear blasts in May 1998, Britain and the Commonwealth stopped aid to Pakistan.

Looking objectively, it may be concluded that Pakistan's relations with Great Britain and the Commonwealth have been quite successful because of good trade relations and British interest in investing in various development projects of Pakistan.

Pakistan-China Relations

Q: How successful was Pakistan in its relationship with China between 1947 and 1999? (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, **14** marks; for Q.1 part d, **10** marks

Ans. Pakistan-China relations have been quite successful. Pakistan recognized the post-revolution communist regime under Mao Zedong in January 1950. It supported China's membership of the UN in 1952. In the 1950's there was no major breakthrough in relations but in March 1962, Pakistan and China began to settle the border dispute on the GB-Tibet border. China made many concessions in the border dispute in order to win Pakistan's support to counter declining relations with India and the USSR. The issue was fully settled by March 1963. The 1962 Sino-India/China-India war came as a blessing in disguise for Pakistan. China began to extend heavy aid to Pakistan. In 1963, a series of trade agreements were signed and a \$60 million interest free loan was given to Pakistan. China soon became the largest importer of raw cotton from Pakistan and promised to help Pakistan in any war with India. In August 1963 the PIA (Pakistan International Airlines) began regular flights to China in order to improve cultural and trade relations.

In 1964 China declared its support for Pakistan on the Kashmir issue and in return, Pakistan supported China's entry to the UN Security Council much to the displeasure of the USA who was supporting Taiwan (non-communist breakaway from China) as the legitimate ruler of China. During the 1965 Pak-India war, China applied diplomatic pressure on India and extended moral and military aid to Pakistan including the T-59 tanks.

Though unable to help Pakistan in the 1971 war, China resumed support for Pakistan. In February 1972, Z.A.Bhutto visited China and sought heavy military and economic aid. Pakistan built the HMC (Heavy Mechanical Complex) in Taxila with the Chinese assistance. During Zia's regime the old Silk Route was remodeled as the KKH (Karakoram Highway) in 1978. Then in 1986 Zia visited China and signed a nuclear co-operation treaty with the Chinese government.

Pakistan offered help to China in the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989. In November 1989, Chinese PM Peng's visit to Pakistan further strengthened the relations. During the first tenure of Nawaz Sharif as PM of Pakistan, he visited China in February, 1991 and in the October 1991 Chinese President Mr. Shangkun visited Pakistan.

In the 1990's China provided technical and material support for the completion of the 300 MW Chashma Nuclear Power Complex and the plutonium reprocessing facility. Both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif paid successful visits to China and convinced China to invest in the Gawadar development project and other similar schemes.

However, there were some failures too. Throughout the 1950's there was no progress in improving relations. Pakistan was busy in solving its own problems and, therefore, could not realize the importance of such a major neighbouring country. There was a continuous delay in initiating the talks for the border dispute and that increased Pakistan's concerns. In 1959 Pakistan voted against China's membership of the UNO and condemned the military action in Tibet, though China did not react angrily. China could not help Pakistan in the 1971 war because of the Agreement of Peace, Co-operation and Friendship between India and the USSR. This agreement contained a threat to a country helping any state against India in a war. In the 1990's, the Cold War had ended and the USSR had broken up into independent states. In this changing scenario China tried to improve relations with India and other states. However, there was little progress in India-China relations. It may finally be concluded that Pak-China relations have been very successful because of the growing common interests of the two countries. China's long-term plans to invest in various development schemes in Pakistan are the key factor in maintaining friendly relations.

Pakistan-India Relations

Q: What has been the importance of the Siachen Glacier to both India and Pakistan? (4)

Ans. Siachen Glacier is located in the northern mountains in Kashmir at the ill-defined Pak-India border. The Indian Colonel Kumar had climbed it in 1977 to establish Indian posts there. Pakistan detected Indian presence in the region after his return in 1981. Pakistan sent its soldiers who found 300 Indian troops already stationed there. Both armies now established their posts, and the Pakistan army could not remove the Indian troops despite a number of armed conflicts including the one led by Pervez Musharraf in 1987. Benazir Bhutto visited the glacier in 1989 to reiterate Pakistan's claim to it. About 3,000-5,000 troops were killed during the clashes or by landslides. Both countries held talks several times without a success.

Q: Why did Pakistan distrust India so much between 1971 and 1988? (7)

Ans. India was instrumental in the creation of Bangladesh. It had trained and equipped the militant Mukti Bahini against Pakistan. After the 1971 war, more than 90,000 Pakistani troops were taken as captives by India. Z.A. Bhutto signed the Simla agreement with Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1972. She agreed to release the captives on the condition of negotiating the Kashmir issue bilaterally, without involving a third party like the UNO. This angered Pakistan that wanted the UN intervention in the Kashmir issue. India conducted its nuclear experiment in Rajasthan in 1974. Pakistan was shocked as this act of India had threatened the peace and strategic balance in the South Asian region. It raised real fears about its security after its neighbour had acquired a nuclear capability. Bhutto retaliated by delivering an impassioned speech in which he declared that the people of Pakistan would develop nuclear capacity even though they had to eat grass.

In the 1980s, Indian presence in the Siachen Glacier region and the Khalistan issue also disturbed the relations between the two states. Both wanted to capture the Siachen Glacier but were unsuccessful. India accused Pakistan of supporting the militant Sikhs who wanted Eastern Punjab to be an independent state, the Khalistan. Relations became more tensed when the Indian PM Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguard in 1984. Her son, Rajiv Gandhi blamed Pakistan for this tragic murder.

Q: How successful was Pakistan in its relationship with India between 1947 and 1999? (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, **14** marks; for Q.1 part d, **10** marks

Ans: Pakistan has not been very successful in its relations with India as there have been fewer successes and several failures. In 1948, Indian Pakistan successfully drew a border between the East Pakistan and Assam. The same year, both countries agreed on a ceasefire on the influence of the UN after the first war on Kashmir. A temporary borderline, the LOC (Line of Control) was accepted by both countries. In 1950 the Minorities Agreement/the Liaqat-Nehru Pact was signed in which both countries agreed to stop the movement of minorities across the border and encourage them to stay back in their homelands. In the 1950's, Jawahar Lal Nehru promised to hold a plebiscite in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir in order to resolve this conflict between the two states.

In September 1960, the Indus Water Treaty was signed to resolve the issue of the canal waters that had originated with the partition of the Punjab in 1947. Both countries accepted the mediatory role of the USSR for a peace agreement after the 1965 war. Accordingly, the Tashkent Accord was signed in the Soviet city of Tashkent. Z.A. Bhutto visited New Delhi and persuaded the Indian PM Mrs. Indra Gandhi to strike a peace deal about the release of more than 90,000 POWs (Prisoners of War) that had been in the Indian custody after the fall of East Pakistan on 16 December 1971. Both PM's signed the Simla Agreement in July 1972 and agreed to resolve all bilateral issues without involving a third party (the UNO etc.). All the Pakistani POWs were released gradually.

In 1984, Gen. Zia visited India to attend the funeral ceremony of the Indian PM Mrs. Indira Gandhi who had been shot dead by her Sikh bodyguard. After the formation of the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) both countries got a common platform to work for the promotion of peace. In the late 1980's, Gen. Zia was able to defuse hostility between the two states by using his "Cricket Diplomacy". Both countries had to major conflicts in those years: the Siachen Glacier and the Khalistan issues. Zia would pay a surprise visit to India on the pretext of watching a Pak-India ODI (One Day International) cricket match between the two teams. He would thus persuade the Indian PM Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to hold peace talks. This way Zia was able to prevent a fourth Indo-Pak war.

Benazir Bhutto was enthusiastic in improving relations with India. She used the platform of the SAARC and the Commonwealth for this. Pakistan rejoined the Commonwealth in 1989 after India had stopped opposing Pakistan's re-entry on the ground of military rule in Pakistan. Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto exchanged visits to Islamabad and Delhi and pledged to promote peace between the two most important South Asian countries. Both also organized the SAF (South Asian Federation) games and the SAARC cultural exchange programs. Similarly, Nawaz Sharif also continued the efforts of promoting peace and reducing hostility. The Lahore Accord was signed between Mr. Sharif and the Indian PM Mr. Vajpayee in 1998 and a bus service was started between Pakistan and India.

However, several setbacks thwarted the attempts of having peaceful relations with India. The Indian government had not acknowledged the creation of Pakistan and created serious difficulties for the newly created state. Millions of Muslims were forced to migrate to Pakistan. India delayed the release of financial and military assets to Pakistan and closed the two headworks in Indian Punjab to create serious shortage of water for Pakistan. The issue persisted throughout the 1950's.

Both countries had their first war on Kashmir in 1948 as a result of which the state of Kashmir was divided into the IHK (Indian Held Kashmir) and the Azad Kashmir. India never fulfilled the promise of holding a plebiscite/referendum in the disputed state of Kashmir and that aggravated hostility between the two countries. The second war on Kashmir was fought in September 1965 in which neither country was successful. Ayub had expected a massive Kashmiri uprising but it did not happen. The Indians had planned to occupy Lahore but that dream too was shattered.

The third Indo-Pak war was fought in December 1971 in the East Pakistan. The Indian army had been training and equipping the militant Bengali separatists, the Mukti Bahini (the liberation force) and therefore, the Pakistan army failed to get the local support and lost the War. More than 90,000 Pakistani officers and soldiers became Indian captives. Only two years after the signing of the Simla Accord, India conducted its nuclear experimentation in the Rajasthan desert in 1974. The Pakistani PM Mr. Z.A.Bhutto threatened to retaliate, and the relations began to deteriorate.

In the 1980's, Pakistan detected the presence of the Indian army on the Siachin Glacier and this led to a series of small skirmishes though the war was never declared. Similarly, in the early 1980's the Indian Sikhs started the Khalistan Movement demanding the separation of the Indian Punjab as an independent state. The Indian army was used to suppress the movement and the Zia's government was accused of supporting and training the Sikhs. When Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguard, her son Rajiv Gandhi blamed Pakistan for this, and he received Gen. Zia without any warmth on his visit to India for attending the funeral rites of Indira Gandhi.

A large scale uprising by the Kashmiri Muslims in 1989 once again worsened the Pak-India relations. The uprising got stronger throughout the 1990's. In May 1998, both countries blasted nuclear bombs and declared themselves as the nuclear states. This took the disturbed relations to their peak. Then in April 1999 the Kashmiri Muslim guerrillas crossed the LOC and occupied the towns of Kargil and Drass in the IHK. Pakistan initially showed ignorance about the development but soon it mobilized its army in the region. The Indian army launched a counter attack and finally, in June 1999 Pakistani forces began to withdraw on the pressure of the USA.

Analyzing in an unbiased way, it may be concluded that the Pak-India relations have been a failure mainly because of the lack of sincerity shown by various governments and the Indian dream of becoming the policeman of the South Asian region. India never accepted the creation of Pakistan and has been delaying the resolution of the Kashmir issue since 1947.

Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations

Q: Who was Abdul Ghaffar Khan?

[4]

Ans. He was born in 1890, and grew up as a Pashtun/Pakhtun nationalist who used non-violent methods in his campaign for an independent Pakhtunistan (land of the Pathans). After August 1947, he served as a member of the Constituent Assembly but became problematic for various governments due to his support for the cause of Pakhtunistan. He was imprisoned several times between 1948 and 1964, and then the 1970s. On his death in Peshawar in 1988, the governments of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan declared a period of official mourning.

Q: Describe the Pakhtunistan issue.

[4]

Ans. After the creation of Pakistan, the Afghan government refused to acknowledge the Durand Line, the international boundary between the two states. It laid claim to parts of the NWFP/KPK. It argued that the Pakhtoons living in Pakistan wanted to join Afghanistan to form a province, Pakhtunistan. This issue remained the main reason for the disturbed Pak-Afghan relations despite Pakistan's best efforts of promoting friendly ties with Afghanistan. After the 1980s, the issue gradually died in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Q) However successful was Pakistan in its relationship with Afghanistan between 1947 and 1999? Explain your answer. (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, **14** marks; for Q.1 part d, **10** marks

Ans. Pakistan tried to improve relations with Afghanistan right from the beginning. Mr. Jinnah ordered the removal of troops from the old British military posts along Pak-Afghan border. He hoped that Afghanistan would see this as a move of friendship and trust. He held official talks in Karachi in 1947 to discuss the Pakhtoonistan issue with the Afghan government. In these talks, Pakistan suggested that if Afghanistan dropped the demand for Pakhtoonistan, it might provide Afghanistan access to the Arabian sea.

In 1956, President Iskandar Mirza visited Kabul after an attack on the Pakistan embassy to normalize the relations. Afghanistan adopted a neutral stance in the 1965 war despite the Soviet pressure on it to favour India.

Z.A.Bhutto visited Kabul shortly after his election and convinced the Afghan government to attend the second OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference) summit in Lahore. He also held talks with the Afghan head Sardar Daud and granted Afghan traders access to India through Pakistan. An agreement was also signed, called the ATTA (Afghan Transit Trade Agreement). Pakistan also extended aid after an earthquake in Afghanistan in 1976. The same year Bhutto and Sardar Daud exchanged visits to Kabul and Islamabad. Several rounds of talks were held with the help of the Shah of Iran who was sincere to promote friendly relations between the two neighbouring states.

General Zia paid a visit to Kabul in 1977 after which Sardar Daud visited Islamabad in March 1978 in order to strengthen ties with Pakistan. After this there was a serious political crisis in Afghanistan as a communist government took control. In December 1979, the Soviet forces attacked Afghanistan. Pakistan, with the help of the US aid, helped the Afghan Mujahideen. Pakistan generously accommodated about three million Afghan refugees whose number continued to swell.

Mainly by the efforts of General Zia, a peace treaty was signed on 14 April 1988 at Geneva (Switzerland), in a meeting attended by the USA, the USSR, Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. Under this the Soviets agreed to gradually pull their forces out of Afghanistan. Pakistan, unfortunately, became isolated after the Geneva Accord but successive governments of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto continued to try to have friendly relations with the post-war Afghan government. Nawaz Sharif visited Kabul and tried to convince various factions of the Mujahideen to end the civil war in Afghanistan. Accordingly, the six separate factions signed the Islamabad Accord in February 1992. Afghanistan agreed to join the ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization) alongwith the Central Asian Republics. In May 1992, the Afghan President visited Pakistan and signed important agreements.

During Benazir's second term as PM, there was the rise of the Taliban in 1996. She supported them because they were successfully establishing their rule in several parts of Afghanistan. Her government provided military and financial support to them and even sent a small army unit to help them, though later she admitted her fatal mistake. In May 1997, Nawaz Sharif recognized the Taliban government.

Several failures halted the efforts of peaceful relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Since 1947, Afghanistan has denied the Durand line as the natural border with Pakistan. It always claimed that Pashto speaking areas of KPK to be its part to make a distinct area Pakhtoonistan. Afghanistan opposed Pakistan's membership of the UNO in September 1947. It rejected Pakistan's offer of granting access to the Arabian Sea if it dropped the demand of Pakhtoonistan. An angry Afghan mob attacked Pakistan's embassy in Kabul and ransacked it. Pakistan in return closed its border and cut off diplomatic ties for several months.

Afghanistan signed an agreement of transit trade with the USSR much to the dismay of Pakistan. It also rejected Iskandar Mirza's offers of peaceful relations in 1956 and later, refused to join the RCD in 1964. Instead of supporting the fellow Muslim country, it adopted a neutral stance in the 1965 Indo-Pak war.

During the Afghan war the Afghan governments condemned Pakistan's support for the Afghan Mujahideen. The Afghan war planes bombarded many Pakistani towns in KPK. After the Geneva Accord, various groups of Mujahideen and governments criticized Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan affairs. The Rabbani government backed out the Islamabad and the Peshawar Accords and a Pakistani bus was hijacked by an Afghan group.

On the whole the relations have not been successful because of the complex regional politics, a lack of sincerity in various governments of Afghanistan and the Russian influence.

Pakistan-Iran Relations

Q: How successful have Pakistan's relations been with Iran between 1947 and 1999? (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, **14** marks; for Q.1 part d, **10** marks

Ans. Both countries have enjoyed good relations. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, Iran was the first country of the world to recognize Pakistan. This laid the foundation of friendly relations. Both countries joined the Baghdad Pact together with the UK. They retained their membership of the Pact after Iraq left it in 1959 and it became known as CENTO. In July 1964, largely as a result of the efforts of Ayub Khan, the RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development) was founded that comprised Pakistan, Iran and Turkey as its members. The RCD provided a platform to its members develop closer trade links and help each other in industrial projects and strengthening the cultural relations. The RCD Highway and the RCD Railway track were developed to facilitate journey between the three states.

Iran and Turkey tried to persuade other countries to help Pakistan in the 1965 war, but had little success. Iran sent help to the Bhutto's government in 1973 to put down an uprising by the tribal chiefs in Balochistan. In the 1980's, General Zia tried to minimize the mistrust between Pakistan and Iran. Pakistan made sincere efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war through the platform of the OIC. Similarly, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif also tried to improve relations with Iran. Pakistan's relations with Turkey traditionally remained friendly. In 1999, a free trade agreement was signed between the two countries. Pakistan has been a major importer of oil from Iran.

The Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, brought Ayat Ullah Khomeini as the Iranian head of state and the Shah of Iran had to go into exile. The Sunni views of General Zia ul Haq were in a visible clash with the staunch Shia views of Khomeini. As a result the relations were adversely affected and the RCD gradually became insignificant. It was revived as the ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization) but the rapidly

changing regional and global scenario kept it quite ineffective. Then, the sectarian violence in Pakistan, mainly in the form of the Shia-Sunni clashes in the 1980's caused further deteriorations of relations. The anti-American Khomeini strongly objected to Pakistan receiving heavy US aid during the Afghan war.

In the 1990's, both countries had sharp differences over the issue of the post-war Afghanistan. Iran did not like Pakistan's support for the extremist Taliban government of Afghanistan. It objected to Pakistan's continuous involvement in the Afghan affairs. The sectarian violence in Pakistan also contributed to a state of disturbed relations between Pakistan and Iran.

It may be concluded that the relations between Pakistan and Iran have been successful because of a common cultural and historic background as well as a common geographical border. Urdu language has very close association with the Persian and several Persian speaking dynasties have ruled the Indo-Pak sub-continent for centuries.

Pak-Bangladesh Relations

Q: How successful was Pakistan in its relations with Bangladesh between 1971 and 1999? (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, **14** marks; for Q.1 part d, **10** marks

Ans. Bangladesh remained East Pakistan from August 1947 to December 1971. Pakistan took some years to recognize the Democratic Republic of Bangladesh. Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rahman, the first head of Bangladesh withdrew the bans on some pro-Pakistan organizations that had operated before its independence. He was invited by Z.A. Bhutto to attend the second OIC summit that was held in Lahore in February 1974. He was accorded a warm welcome and Pakistan recognized Bangladesh the same day. In June 1974 Bhutto visited Bangladesh and paid homage to Bangladesh's war memorial at Savar Upazila. He tried to reach an agreement with Sheikh Mujeeb in 1975 for the division of assets. Mujeeb asked Bhutto to agree to give Bangladesh over half of Pakistan's pre-1971 external reserves but Bhutto rejected this demand. Mujeeb also insisted that Pakistan take all non-Bengalis left scattered in Bangladesh after the 1971 war. They were the Muslims who had migrated from India in 1947, mainly from the neighbouring Indian province of Bihar. Bhutto also rejected it as unreasonable. In 1975-76 both countries appointed ambassadors, and signed an agreement to cooperate on trade, tourism and the media.

Relations began to improve in the 1980's under the governments of Zia ur Rahman and Hussain Muhammad Ershad in Bangladesh. General Zia ul Haq paid visits to Bangladesh and signed a number of agreements to promote trade and culture between the two states. In his visit to Bangladesh in 1985 and founded SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) with the help of his Bangladeshi counterpart General Zia ur Rahman. He also visited the war memorial and said, "Your heroes are our heroes." By 1986, trade between the two countries had reached a value of \$40 million. In 1985 and 1988 Pakistan was the first country to have sent aid to Bangladesh after it was hit by worst kind of floods.

When Benazir Bhutto came to power in 1988, she too used the SAARC platform to promote friendly relations with Bangladesh. Many SAARC cultural exchange programs were organized alongwith the SAF (South Asian Federation) Games. Similarly, Nawaz Sharif also held meetings with the Bangladeshi Prime Ministers in the SAARC conferences. The Chief Minister of Punjab, Ghulam Hyder Wajid, accommodated some of the non-Bengali/Bihari refugees in Pakistan. In 1998, PM Sheikh Hasina Wajid paid a goodwill visit to Pakistan.

As for failures, relations remained strained in the beginning as Pakistan considered Bangladesh a traitor who had sought the Indian aid for its liberation. So, it was reluctant to recognize Bangladesh. For the same reason, Pakistan left the Commonwealth and SEATO when Great Britain recognized it. Pakistan also refused to accommodate the pro-Pakistan non-Bengali, mainly Biharis who had migrated from India after independence, they were shifted to special camps by the Bangladeshi government and forced to live a sub-human life in these camps. Both countries failed to reach a mutually acceptable agreement for the reallocation of the assets left in the two countries. Various governments of Pakistan have also refused to extend an apology for what the Bangladeshi government declares as war crimes. Pakistan army was accused of committing excesses against the Bengali population and Bangladesh has been asking Pakistan to apologize for it.

On the whole, relations have been successful because with the passage of time the wounds inflicted on the Bengali people during the 1971 war have started healing. The platforms like the Commonwealth and the SAARC have also played their role to bring the two countries closer to each other.

Q: Why did Pakistan support the Palestinian cause between 1947 and 1999? (7)

Ans.

Pakistan had brotherly feelings for the Palestinian Muslims. In 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam warned the USA of the consequences of partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel. However, the state of Israel was created by displacing a huge number of Palestinian Muslims, and this laid the foundation of Palestine-Israel conflict. Since then both the Pakistani people and governments have strongly supported the Palestine cause. Pakistan always condemned illegal occupation of other states throughout the world in line with the UN objective of promoting international peace.

In 1967, an extremist Israeli tried to burn the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Following this, the Muslim countries held a summit conference in Rabat, Morocco, in 1969. On Pakistan's suggestion the OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference) was set up, and its objective was to protect the rights of the Muslim world, and especially the Palestinian Muslims. Pakistan, being an active member of the OIC, considered the Israeli occupation of Palestine as totally unjustified. It wanted the Palestinian Muslims to live in an independent state without any fear of aggression by the other states.

After the Arab-Israel war in October 1973, Pakistan's PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto convened the second summit of the OIC in February 1974 in Lahore. Yasser Arafat, head of the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) attended it along with the other 35 heads of the Muslim states. They reaffirmed their opposition to Israel's occupation of Palestinian lands, and tried to draw the attention of the world powers towards a peaceful settlement of this conflict. The summit demonstrated the unity of the Muslim world for a common cause, and importance of Pakistan as a strong supporter of the Palestine cause.

Pakistan as the Member of World Organizations

Q: Why did Pakistan joined the UNO in 1947? (7)

Ans. Pakistan needed to be recognised as an important country. It was a newly created country and needed recognition as a member seeking international peace. On September 30, 1947, it joined the UNO to achieve the objective. Many countries were struggling for independence during the early years of the Cold War (1945-1990) and Pakistan took upon itself to be the spokesman of these countries. For example, it spoke up against the occupation of Indonesia by Holland, and supported the freedom movement of Morocco and Algiers. It also took the Palestinian issue to the UN while condemning the illegal occupation of Palestine by Israel.

India had created many difficulties for Pakistan soon after independence. It had taken the Kashmir issue to the UN, in 1947, and persuaded India and Pakistan for a ceasefire after the 1948 war. Pakistan wanted the UN to play its due role in a permanent settlement of the Kashmir issue.

In order to deal with its economic difficulties, Pakistan needed the help of such international monetary bodies as the World Bank because India had been delaying the release of Pakistan's share of economic assets. Pakistan's membership of the UNO became important when it began to mediate for resolving the canal water dispute. With the help of the World Bank, the issue was finally resolved in 1960 by the signing of the Indus Water Treaty.

Q: How successful has Pakistan been as a member of world organizations between 1947 and 1999? (14)

Note: For Q.2-5, part c, **14** marks; for Q.1 part d, **10** marks

Ans. Pakistan played active role as a member of many world organizations. It joined the UNO in September 1947 to seek the UN help in resolving various disputes with India and the problems of partition. It accepted the UN-mediated peace and the LOC (Line of Control) after the 1948 war on Kashmir. It took the Kashmir issue to the UN Security Council for its permanent solution in the 1950's. For example, it condemned the occupation of Indonesia by Holland. The World Bank persuaded Pakistan and India to accept the Indus Water Treaty in 1960. It also acted as the spokesperson for many Asian countries that were struggling for independence in the 1950's. It also raised the Palestine issue on the UN platform and defended the Palestine cause. The UN also held Pakistan and India agree on peace in the Tashkent Accord, 1966. It sent its troops to help the UN peacekeeping forces in many countries including Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many UN organizations helped Pakistan in health, education and population planning projects. They include, the WHO (World Health Organization), the UNESCO (UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and the UNICEF (UN International Children Emergency Fund). The WFP (World Food Program) and the UNHCR (UN High Commission for Refugees) helped Pakistan in its economic development and the accommodation of the Afghan refugees.

Unfortunately, the UN could not resolve the Kashmir issue mainly due to the veto power of the five permanent members of the UNSC. Z.A.Bhutto was disappointed by the UN role in the 1971 war as it asked Pakistan to stop fighting instead of accepting the justice of Pakistan's case. He, therefore, tore apart the UN resolution. He was unhappy on the quick recognition of Bangladesh.

Pakistan joined the US-sponsored anti-communist military blocs of SEATO and CENTO in 1954-55 alongwith Great Britain and the Muslim states of Iraq and Turkey. This gave a sense of protection to Pakistan and improved its relations with the member states. However, Egypt was unhappy on Pakistan joining these bodies as the British had attacked the Suez Canal in 1956. Moreover, these blocs refused to help Pakistan in the wars of 1965 and 1971 as the aid was linked with the attack of any communist state on Pakistan. Pakistan left SEATO in 1972.

Pakistan became a member of the Commonwealth after independence. It is a club of Great Britain and its former colonies. Several development projects were funded by the Commonwealth, and Pakistan actively participated the Commonwealth Games. However, the membership depended on the civil/democratic rule in Pakistan. Pakistan left the Commonwealth in 1972 when Great Britain recognized Bangladesh. Pakistan could not rejoin it in the 1980's due to Zia's military rule. However, it was able to join it in 1989 after Benazir Bhutto's civilian rule began.

Pakistan, Iran and Turkey founded the RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development) in 1964. Several agreements were signed to promote trade and cultural ties between the member states. The RCD Highway and the RCD Railways were started to facilitate journey between the three states. After the Iranian Revolution of 1980, the RCD gradually became insignificant but after some years it was reorganized as the ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization) by adding the Central Asian states and Afghanistan. However, Pakistan was not very successful in making the ECO a very effective bloc mainly because of the disturbed relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference/Countries) was founded after a failed attempt by a lunatic Jew to burn the al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969. Pakistan became its very active member and, Z.A.Bhutto organized its second summit in Lahore in February 1974. Several agreements were signed and resolutions in favour of the Palestine cause were adopted. In the 1980's, Pakistan struggled for an end of the Iran-Iraq war through the platform of the OIC. Generally, however, Pakistan could not mobilize the member states to work for the collective welfare of the Muslim world because of the rivalry between various states.

With the efforts of Pakistan and Bangladesh, the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) was founded in December 1985. Its aim was to promote friendly relations between the seven countries of South Asia, specially Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. SAARC cultural exchange programs and the SAF Games have been its main features, but due to the Indo-Pak rivalry and the grievances of Bangladesh against Pakistan have been the major stumbling blocks in making it a successful body.

To conclude, Pakistan has been very successful as member of various world organizations by supporting the UN objective of maintaining world peace and playing a sincere role in making attempts to resolve various regional and global conflicts. It has been recognized as an important Asian country that wants friendly relations with other states.